JANUARY GRAPHIC
SURVEY

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Analytic Index to This Number

January 1, 1927

Child Welfare:
Nineteen cases of children with bad parents, p. 434 ffffff

Family Welfare:
A family and a delinquent girl, p. 433

The Law and Law Breakers:
Governor Smith of New York asks for a law establishing a power authority, p. 425
Probation for a boy who stole, p. 434 f
A girl who was "accidentally" arrested for violating traffic rules, p. 436
Support for the Sheppard-Towner Act, p. 467

The Conquest of Disease:
A boy who fought heart disease, p. 435
The pneumonia death rate falls in Pittsburgh, p. 468

The Promotion of Health:
Health education through play for Hindu mothers, p. 440
Health and recreation stadium, municipally maintained in Frankfort, Germany, p. 457 f

Town Planning:
Play space in Frankfort, Germany, p. 456
The Supreme Court upholds the zoning ordinance of an Ohio village, p. 467
Preliminary Report of N. Y. State Housing Board, p. 467

Immigration and Race Relations:
The "highway robbery" of the southwestern Indians, p. 453 ff
Review of the Indian situation, p. 455
An objective study of the bush negroes, p. 467

Industrial Conditions:
Scientific technique applied to labor, p. 443
Story of the shorter work day in the steel industry—with a dividend for a moral, p. 465

Industrial Relations:
The end of the Passaic textile strike, p. 468

Social Invention in Industry:
Machine-conditioned management of personnel at the Sperry plant, p. 445 ff, 472 f

Peace and International Relations:
The Mexican situation, p. 459
Report of the Thompson mission to the Philippines, p. 459
President Coolidge discards the World Court, p. 460
Extra-territoriality in China, p. 460 f
Effective constructive forces in China today, p. 461
The British Empire's reorganization conference, p. 461

Motives and Ideals:
State ownership of water power on a business basis, p. 421 ffff
The quality magazines reflect changing attitudes, p. 427 fffff, 469 fff
The changing folkways of this mechanized civilization, p. 444
The social meaning of art, p. 449 f
The ramifications of government ownership, p. 466
A century of reform, p. 462
Modern lessons from a Greek tragedy, p. 463

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By BELLE BOONE BEARD

And Other Members of the Seminary in Social and Industrial Research in the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College.

With a Foreword By
MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, M.E., D.Sc.

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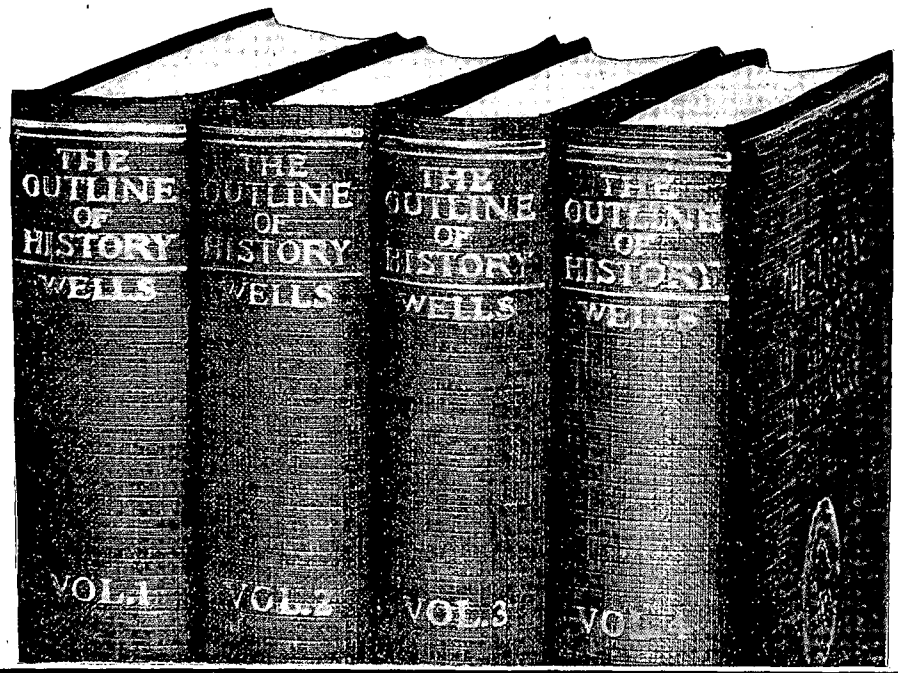

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It's too bad to have to cut up a page in a magazine as good-looking as the Graphic, but if ever a magazine was worth demolishing and a page worth cutting this is the page. It took some time for Graphic readers to realize that the Wells History in four volumes, plus a year each of Harper's and Graphic, all three at $6, is a once-in-a-blue-moon opportunity. But they finally tumbled. Hundreds of sets have already been distributed. Three high-water-mark days have been reached in the Graphic's business department for the week in which this blurb is being written. There are still some sets of Wells to be had, not to mention subscriptions to the other magazines listed below. How much longer these offers can be extended we cannot at this date announce. They make first-rate New Year's cards to remember all those you forgot at Christmas.

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THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LVII, No. 7 January 1, 1927

CONTENTS

FRONTISPIECE, The Sidewalks of New York . . *Martha Bensley Bruère* 420
WATER POWER AND ITS SOCIAL USES . . . . *Alfred E. Smith* 421
MIDWINTER, Woodcut . . . . . *J. J. Lankes* 426
THE REVOLUTION OF QUALITY STREET . . *Leon Whipple* 427
NINETEEN WAYS OF BEING A BAD PARENT *Miriam Van Waters* 433
AN ADVENTURE IN PLAY . . . *Irene Mott* 440
32,000 R. P. M. . . . . *Robert W. Bruère* 443
MODERN AND ACADEMIC ART, Selections made from three recent exhibitions . *Robert Hallowell* 449
ARE WE MAKING RED SLAVES? . *John Collier* 453
A PEOPLE'S VERSAILLES . . *Frederic C. Howe* 456
HORIZON LINES . *Edited by James G. McDonald* 459
LETTERS & LIFE . . *Edited by Leon Whipple* 462
HAVOC WROUGHT BY THE SHORTER WORK DAY IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY 465
EDITORIALS 466

The Gist of It

GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH of New York will be particularly remembered by readers of The Graphic for his article on The Stake of the Public, in our Giant Power number of March, 1924. There he first put before a national audience his plan for a Power Authority, patterned after the successful Port of New York Authority. A contrary proposal, for private ownership and operation, will be made in the February Graphic by Ogden L. Mills, who was the Republican opponent of Governor Smith in the last election and has been appointed assistant secretary of the treasury. Page 421.

FROM a modest reader who marvels at our "courage in treating distinguished editors as if they were ordinary people," to the distinguished editors themselves, Leon Whipple's Revolution in Quality Street has been widely read and commented on. The November Graphic, containing the discussion of The Atlantic and The Century, was even found on the desks of three chief executives of the American News Company, whose business it is to sell rather than read magazines. In this issue, The Mercury, Harpers, Scribner's and The Forum have their turn. Mr. Whipple combines book-reviewing and such-like tasks for The Graphic with teaching journalism at New York University. Later issues will have his pungent observations on the tabloids and the national weeklies. Page 427.

OF all people, it was Cotton Mather, with his "counsel and comforts for godly parents afflicted with ungodly children," who furnished the text for Miriam Van Waters and her modern idea that "today when parents are afflicted by their children we think of examining the parents." Dr. Van Waters is referee of the Juvenile Court in Los Angeles and author of Youth in Conflict. Her next article, in the February Graphic, will bear the startling title, I Would Rather Die Than Go Home. Page 433.

IRENE MOTT, winner of the Harmon-Survey Award on the Use of Leisure, went to India immediately after her graduation from Vassar in 1922. There she spent several years as a volunteer welfare worker among the women and children of the Empress Cotton Mills at Nagpur. The mill-owners are Parsees who are trying various experiments through which they hope to avoid some of the evils of western industrialism. Except for the foremen, their workers are outcasts. Miss Mott is the daughter of John R. Mott of the Y. M. C. A. She expects to return to India after a year of study at Columbia University. Page 440.

ROBERT W. BRUERE'S patient search for "a way out" in industry has borne rich harvest. In a factory making an incredibly accurate gyro-compass he has found "at least the first crude elements of a scientific technique applied to the behavior and control of the human beings in the working force" and "that the machine is but an extension of man's manual equipment." Next month, the Graphic will have a further chapter of these revolutionary discoveries. Page 456.

JOHN COLLIER is the executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, Inc. Mr. Collier has recently returned from a drive of 6,000 miles through the principal Indian territories. Page 453.

FREDERIC C. HOWE stumbled on his People's Versailles during a two years' roaming abroad. Readers of the Graphic scarcely need to be reminded of the quarter century of his militant civic reform, running from the time he went into Tom L. Johnson's city cabinet in Cleveland to the publication last year of his Confessions of a Reformer. Page 456.

NEXT month, Survey Graphic will publish a chapter of Florence Kelley's Notes of Sixty Years—a fascinating chapter of the pioneer days of co-education when Mrs. Kelley was at Cornell, with contemporary portraits and a picture of the old Cornell campus.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, who celebrates in February twenty years in the ministry of the Community Church in New York City, will contribute a ringing challenge to all who are tired in mind and spirit, opening a series of articles on What Is Worth Fighting for in American Life.

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SCISSORS PICTURE *by* MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

V. THE SIDEWALKS OF NEW YORK

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THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

JANUARY 1, 1927

Volume LVII, No. 7

Water Power and Its Social Uses

By ALFRED E. SMITH

I TAKE the question of water power development in the state of New York to be not a political matter at all. I take it to be a business matter, of great concern to all the people of the state regardless of how they voted on the second of November.

In the early days of power development from falling water, nobody was interested in it; in fact, few are today, when you speak of the eleven and a half million people who live in the state of New York, and it was the policy of the state to incorporate by act of the Legislature any company that desired to use the falling water of Niagara Falls or to divert water from the Niagara river above the falls for power purposes.

We went pretty far. We were very liberal in our grants until in 1905 the federal government, fearing the ultimate destruction of the falls themselves, reached their hand into the state of New York and, by the provisions of what is known as the Burton Act, entered into a treaty with the Dominion of Canada as to how much water could be diverted from the Niagara river above the falls.

That stopped for a little while the legislative grants to develop water power, and in 1907 there was passed at Albany an Act incorporating what was known as the Long Saulte Development Company. The Long Saulte Development Company, I am given to understand, is no other concern than the same one that was looking for the license for development in Albany only last week.

In 1913, the legislature repealed the grant of 1907. The repeal was litigated to the Court of Appeals, and the Court of Appeals sustained the repeal of that charter and allowed the Long Saulte Development Company to go into the Court of Claims and make such claims against the state as they felt they could for damages.

Immediately after the signing of the charter to the Long Saulte Development, Governor Hughes realized how important was the grant given to that water power company, and he sent a message to the legislature asking for the development of the remaining state water power possibilities by a plan that was to be submitted to the legislature by the then Water Power Commission, specifically saying that the plan was to comprehend that development under

A Power Authority

GOVERNOR SMITH'S project of a power authority—his distinctive contribution to the discussion of "white coal" as a public issue of mounting importance, stands squarely for public ownership at the source and modified forms of public operation. He takes as his model the Port of New York Authority on which he served, which has financed and is building two bridges between New Jersey and Staten Island across the Hudson River. He proposes a similar instrumentality of government to develop the two and a half million horsepower latent in the waters of New York State. This Power Authority would build and operate power plants and sell power to private distributing companies, financing itself by selling bonds in the market. Its first step would be to commission experts to report a year hence on the feasibility of the project. The Governor put forward his plan on December 13 at a dinner meeting of Survey Associates in New York. This was a remarkable gathering of Republicans and Democrats, representatives of big power interests and radical advocates of government ownership, and men and women of all points of view between—gathered to hear the proposals of the chief executive of the state three weeks before the meeting of the Legislature. Governor Smith's plan, as published here, is based on stenographic notes of his address.

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state ownership and under state control. So that we find that the origin of the theory of state ownership and state control of water power development does not begin in the socialistic age in which I came to office!

In 1911 the old Water Power Commission was merged with what we have today, the Conservation Commission, which came into the legislature in 1912 with a definite plan. I talked for it as leader of the party on the floor of the Assembly, but it was a little bit early, and the plan was a little bit drastic and it required a great expenditure of public money and probably its defeat at that time was in the best interest of the state. You know as well as I do that in democratic government you can get too many blocks ahead of the parade. You have got to be able to look around and see whether all of the members of the regiment are with you or not.

AT Niagara Falls and on the Canadian border, because of the St. Lawrence river, we have what can be called the sources of firm power; firm power as against what the men that are versed in it refer to as dump power. You have got to have that basic source of power to be able to accomplish anything. Without it, the reducing stations and generating stations mean nothing. But on the St. Lawrence and Niagara rivers you have your day and night development possible 365 days in the year.

Now, in accordance with our treaty with the Dominion of Canada, there is available on the St. Lawrence the development of probably a million and a half of horsepower. I should like to translate that into terms that would be understood by everybody. The Edison Company's waterside station at the foot of Thirty-sixth street is lighting the whole theatrical district. It is making possible the glare of upper Broadway. It is supplying the electric current for practically everyone south of Fifty-ninth street. It is able to take the peak load in the Christmas season. And its possible maximum development is only 300,000 horsepower. Now, as 300,000 horsepower is to the whole lighting of Manhattan, figure for yourself the possibilities of a million and a half or two million horsepower on the St. Lawrence and the Niagara rivers with perhaps a half million more in other rivers; power enough not only for our own needs, but also, I think I can safely say, enough to send over state lines into the New England states. Here we have it today, under state control and under state ownership.

"Every now and then it is well for us to gather around the board and decide on one thing—and that is that the past is dead. Forget it. Let's deal with the present today. If we had to recount all the mistakes that have been made by our predecessors in govermental affairs, it would be a terrible thing. Why, there was a time when, down here in the basement of the City Hall, the original board of aldermen that were known under some old Amsterdam Dutch name, as burgomasters, were discussing whether we were going to have highways or canals on Manhattan Island. Fortunately, the fellow with the loudest voice and the best argument won out for street highways. If it wasn't for that, instead of driving an automobile, a man would have to be a good canal-boat puller. You would be hiring an oarsman instead of a chauffeur to get up Broadway."

Years ago industry found itself quartered upon the banks of these rivers because of the old-fashioned wheel that the water fell down upon and ground up the pulp to make the paper to carry on the industry. However, we have fixed as a definite principle of government that we will store the water upon these rivers for only two purposes: first, for the prevention of the pollution of the stream itself; second, to prevent floods and consequent damage to property, so that the setting up of a reserve for the control of these waters is in fact and in deed, so far as the law of this state is concerned, a public health problem and not a power problem.

I think it would be safe to say that if as an incidental to the protection of public health from pollution or flood somebody is to be benefited by an even flow of the river, let them pay that cost, the setting up of that district, but don't let us make a joke out of our own law and say that power companies, simply because they need additional water power, can have the state use its power of eminent domain to set up reserve water for them. What has the power company got to do with it? This belongs to the people of the state of New York and not to the power company. If they are an incidental beneficiary, that is all right; we are satisfied.

Now then, we come down to the all-important question of the state's present method of handling this resource. Here it is: We have got two million horsepower possible and we have got a half million horsepower possible in the regulation of the other rivers without interference with any existing condition except the possibility of flooding some part of our Adirondack lands. But the state itself can in the first instance determine whether or not they shall be flooded.

Now what is our present method of handling this natural resource? We have no agency of government that deals with this question on its merits. We have now only the so-called Power Commission. This is made up, in the first place, of the attorney-general. He is the state's law officer. What does he know about water power development? How many people voted for him for attorney-general with any notion in their mind that he knew anything about water power? Then there is the speaker of the Assembly, Joe Maginnies. He comes from Chautauqua county and is engaged in the business of growing grapes. A fine man, a great friend of mine but—what does he know about water power? Take the Senate leader, Senator Knight. He is a farmer in Wyoming county. Take the head of the Conservation Department, an administrative officer, able to handle that department, there is no question about it, when it comes to the supervision of our fish and game and our forest preserves—but he doesn't know anything about water power.

Now let's take the make-up of the proposed new Power Commission that will come into existence in January, 1927, under the reorganized state government. Again we find the attorney-general, the conservation commissioner and the superintendent of public works. The superintendent of public works has direct responsibility to the governor and the governor in turn to the people of the state for an expenditure of more than $20,000,000 in a single year in the operation of the canal and the construction

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of roads and the maintenance of all public buildings. The state's law officer has the largest law office in the state of New York, with seventy-five or eighty assistants. The conservation commissioner is at the head of a large department of government that not only has to do with the Saratoga reservation but with the enforcement of fish and game laws, the protection of forests and the acquisition of additional forest land for the preserve, and plus that and above all, under the reorganization, there has been put into his department control and supervision of the state park system from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls.

Those are the three men who in the next year are supposed to figure out a water policy for the state of New York. Why, you might as well put the duty on me. I have got as much time. If I kept out of bed entirely and never ate anything, and just kept working all the time, I could do it as well as these men. If they should even attempt to do it, then three big departments of the government along other lines of equal importance to all the people of the state must of necessity be neglected.

Is it not possible for you to see in that set-up that I have just made why I opposed the recently proposed grant? I opposed it for the one fundamental reason that it was not a license to develop anything. It was an option, that is all, and the Water Power Commission sat up there in all of their dignity and all of their lack of understanding of the thing and were ready to give something that the law didn't give them the power to give, and that was an option on the right to divert the water power.

Well, I appreciate that it is the easiest thing in the world to tear down and to criticize. Everybody likes the man who can find fault with something and show it up in right terms, but at the same time they like to know that he has some other proposal. We are suffering a great deal in the state and the city and the country from the fellow who can find fault with what the other fellow is doing but has nothing to suggest himself.

GOVERNOR SMITH OF NEW YORK

"You know as well as I do that in democratic government you can get too many blocks ahead of the parade now and then. You have got to be able to look around and see whether all of the members of the regiment are with you or not."

NOW I have something to suggest. In the first place, I suggest that we adopt the fundamental principle that we are going to regard these water powers and these possible water power developments as the property of the state that must not be alienated, even by lease, for any period of time.

None of us cares anything at all about the man who doesn't learn by experience. Let us look a little bit into the past, see what has become of the ventures that our forefathers embarked upon, under the theory that they were protecting us. Let us take, for example, the charter of the New York Central Railroad. When the state of New York gave the New York Central Railroad the right to run through what is unquestionably today and what will in the future be the greatest industrial center of the world, the Mohawk Valley, from Albany to Buffalo, they put a proviso in the charter that they were to carry passengers at the rate of two cents a mile. That charter is still a matter of record. Go over and see if you can buy a ticket for two dollars.

When I first went to Albany I got a ticket for $3.10, three dollars for the 150 miles and ten cents to the Vanderbilt family for going over the bridge. Today it is $5.25. What happened in the meanwhile? The state, in the exercise of what it believed to be its sovereignty, made that bargain with the New York Central Railroad. Later on the Federal government, when it decided to regulate interstate commerce, said: "One minute, this road is an interstate road, and the lean and fat must go together, and on those branches of the road where they don't make money you have got to make it for them on this branch." That is why you pay $5.25.

The legal end of it I am not going to discuss. What is more I don't care about it. All I know is that that franchise agreement means nothing. I also know that when the board of aldermen, back in 1845, granted a franchise to the Hudson River Railroad Company to use Eleventh avenue, they gave the Hudson River Railroad Company a limited franchise; and I know that the state thereafter, in the exercise of its sovereignty, said that whenever two railroads

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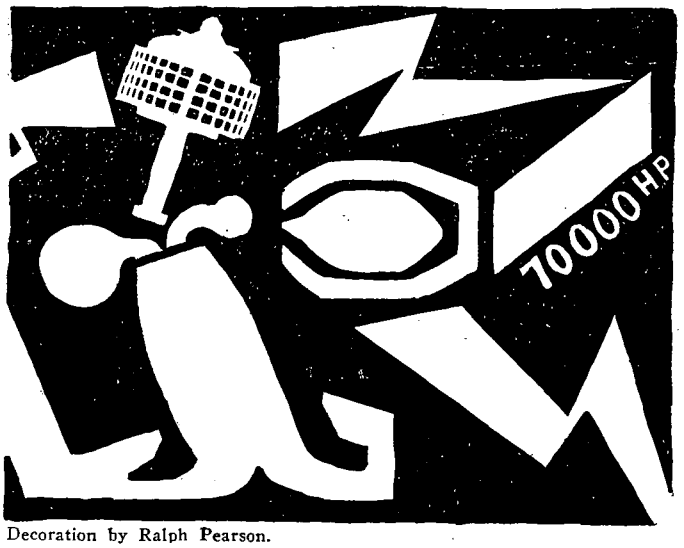

Decoration by Ralph Pearson.

Power engine

amalgamate, they can go to the secretary of state and fix the term of the franchise. The New York Central Railroad, then chartered to run between Albany and Buffalo, amalgamated with the Hudson River Railroad and became the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad. They fixed the terms of their franchise at the modest term of 999 years, and as only sixty-odd years of the 999 have elapsed, we might as well say that they have Eleventh avenue and everything that goes with it forever.

The point that I want to make is that we have no idea of what is going to happen in the future. We can't gauge it. But if we alienate this property to any private interest, we are subject to all the hazard that comes from actions in the future. The day may come when this power is sent over state lines; and we may have set up in Washington a super-power corporation, under whatever name you like to call it, and some court may decide that that is interstate commerce, and we can have nothing to say about the rates that the power may be sold for on the premises that we own. There is nothing socialistic or revolutionary about that. It just appraises the thing as it is, on the experience of the past.

I say let us take these basic sources of power and say by law that they are to remain the property of the people of the state of New York. If they mean anything to private companies that want to develop them, they mean just as much to the state. Some years ago, we had a notion about state ownership or state development as necessarily done entirely by the state, and from that grew all the talk about "the socialistic ideas of the proponents of state development." But we found out that it is possible to create within the state an agency of the state for the purpose of progressive public development without any responsibility to the state itself beyond the point that a commission establishes the economic soundness of the development before they proceed with it.

Now, how any man who voted for the New York Port Authority or to set up the Port of Albany can talk about a power authority as a socialistic proceeding is more than I can understand. What is the difference? Here we were confronted at the Port of New York with a situation that required the expenditure of two hundred and fifty million dollars. Certainly the city of New York could not stand that, nor the state of New York, nor the state of New Jersey. But what did we do? We set up an agency of the two states and we declared it to be a body politic and corporate. We exempted its bonds from state taxation, we declared its securities to be instrumentalities of the government, and we put upon it the burden of going out into the public market and borrowing the money upon the proven economic value of the Port Authority.

Where did we get fourteen million dollars for the two bridges over the Kill Van Kull from Staten Island to the state of New Jersey? What about the twenty million dollars of bonds that was bought up at four and a quarter per cent in the last week to start the bridge across the North River from Washington Heights into Jersey? There is no state credit behind it. There is no pledge of public funds. There is no obligation growing out of the public funds. All are predicated upon their earning power, their ability to produce returns that will pay interest on the bonds and amortize them. Fortunately, we have no stockholders in these bridges. The stockholders are the people of the states of New York and New Jersey. They are our common property. We are not pledged for all time to come to pay something to the stockholders who received the stock as a bonus for the purchase of bonds.

Is there anything so big about this power undertaking that the same principle cannot be applied? Why can't the state of New York set up a power authority, declare by law that it is a body corporate and politic and let it raise the money for the development of these water powers at the source, and, after it has developed the energy, sell it to distributing companies at a price that will safeguard the interests of the state and at the same time have some consideration for the ultimate consumer?

IF this authority was to be set up by law and commissioned by law to proceed, it wouldn't work. Therefore, I have recommended that the plan that comes from such a power authority be submitted to the legislature for ratification. And by plan I have not in mind a blue print of it or a picture of a power-house or a dam. By a plan, I mean a comprehensive scheme to include construction, financing, and utimate distribution of the power. If such a power authority is set up, it will be the first time that any state agency has made any definite study of the whole proposition in the interest of the state, because I think it is clear that all plans so far submitted to the state have been drawn up by the interested parties.

What about the vehicular tunnel now being built to Jersey? Why, we could have any number of tunnels if we would commission private individuals to build them. If this tunnel from Canal street to Jersey is a success, and there isn't any doubt about it, you could get all the private capital from here to California to build another one. The receipts of that tunnel, based upon the present ferry charges across the Hudson River, will yield a return to both states in excess of our wildest dreams—although it did cost forty million dollars. Have I been consistent in my attitude on this? Why, of course. I vetoed bills that were accepted even by the mayor of New York, that gave away privileges to individuals to put tunnels under the North river. Look at the Bear Mountain bridge. There you have an obligation for all time to come of 8 per cent upon preferred stock. Why should the state of New York give to any small group of men the right to do something that the state can do itself? I don't understand that.

Now, somebody is going to ask me, suppose it can't be

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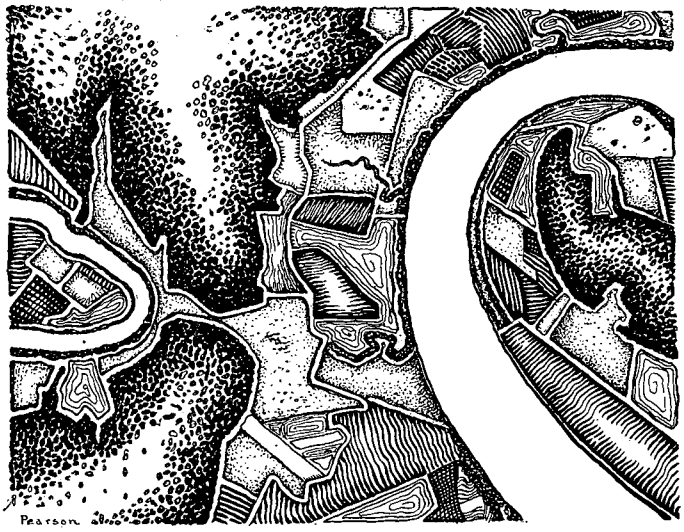
done by the state? Suppose that the power authority we organize isn't able to make contracts with distributing companies at a price that will guarantee the interest and amortization of the bonds? That is possible. I don't claim for this that it is going to just ride through the state in a blaze of glory. Remember that the power authority, if created, is charged with bringing in a plan, and if I have the right to name them, you can be absolutely sure that I will name the biggest men that I can bring to the service of this state, and when they speak, they will speak with an authority that will make the people of the state believe that they know what they are talking about. If they come in and say it can't be done, then is the time for us to invite the private companies in.

What objection can there be to that? Who can stand up in Albany or in New York and say that there is any real reason why the state of New York should not set up this authority to inform the state upon the possibility of state or private control hereafter, for there must be ultimate development, whether it comes under state or under private ownership and control, because if there is anything that democrat government needs and requires it is the confidence of the man on the street. You have got to have him with you. You can sit around the table and talk all the fantastic ideas about government that you like, but if the man on the street isn't with you, it doesn't go. And you will bring him with you and you will bring him into line only when you are able to show him every side of the question, and one side that he wants to know is why he shouldn't own it as well as the man that seeks it privately.

Someone may say that you can't make a comparison between the Port of New York authority and a proposed water power authority because the Port of New York is an interstate proposition. Well then, let's take the Port of Albany, that is entirely within our own state. We have set up there by law an authority that will go into the market and borrow twenty-five million dollars, supplementing an appropriation of a like amount from the federal government, for deepening the channel between Castleton and Albany. Where is that money coming from? Not from the city of Albany, or the state of New York, or the federal government, but from the people that believe that a development of the Port of Albany will yield sufficient money in return to amortize the bonds and pay the interest on them. The same thing applies to the bridges between Staten Island and New Jersey and over the Hudson River. The people of our state and of our country have not been slow to buy on faith bonds for an enterprise of which the financial ability has been demonstrated.

NOW, as part of the plan, the power authority must demonstrate that it can carry the bonds. Somebody may say that it may need a little bit of money to start it. Fine! If the financial problem is all right, if the set-up is proper, why shouldn't the state itself make some little start upon a development that means so much to the people? We will get it all back—just as we will get it all back out of the bridges and the tunnel.

How many of us know how much we really cut from our annual tax-roll for this tunnel? Between 1919 and 1926 we put twenty-one million dollars in cash into it,—and nobody knows anything about it because we just put it up,—that is all, and there it is. We put it up in the first instance on faith, because there was some doubt as to whether



Decoration by Ralph Pearson.

Water shed

that tube could be ventilated to a point of safety in case of accident. Now that we are satisfied with it, everybody is going to go down when it opens and ride out into Jersey and sing, "Three cheers for the red, white and blue." Yet it was just as much of a risk as would be the pledging of the credit of the state in the development of dams and power-houses on the St. Lawrence River.

I ask the Legislature to set up a power authority that by its nature will fit into the same picture that Charles Evans Hughes put the Port Authority into. He said, "It is not a branch of the government; it is an instrument of it." I ask for an instrument of government that will study this question and bring into the Legislature a plan. I ask that that plan be engineeringly—if that is a proper word—and financially sound, and that the men who suggest it be able to show us where to get the money to build it and be able to show a contract for distribution of the power that will bring sufficient return to the state to amortize the bonds and pay interest on them during their life.

We are in the power business now. The wheels are humming in two state-owned power plants where we are generating electrical energy and selling it to the Cohoes Light and Power Company and to the Adirondack Light and Power Company—and we are getting enough money from it to run the plant and give us 10 per cent return on what we paid for the machinery.

Isn't it a strange thing that nobody raised this socialistic question when Governor Miller suggested the state construction of these power houses? Is is one of the funny things about our government. While he was recommending that, he was put in the reactionary class. Then I asked to amplify his ideas, and I was put down as a socialist.

What is my definite plan? Let us set up the power authority first by law, and declare by law that we propose to make this a body corporate and politic with the right to issue its own securities against the proven economic value of the power that it proposes to produce. Let it go to work. Let us for the first time have a state agency looking into it instead of a state agency waiting for somebody else to bring the program to them. If, when they arrive before the legislature in 1928, they say that it is impossible, then let's talk about private development, because then the public mind will be prepared for it. They will know from a competent authority that the state is unable to do it.

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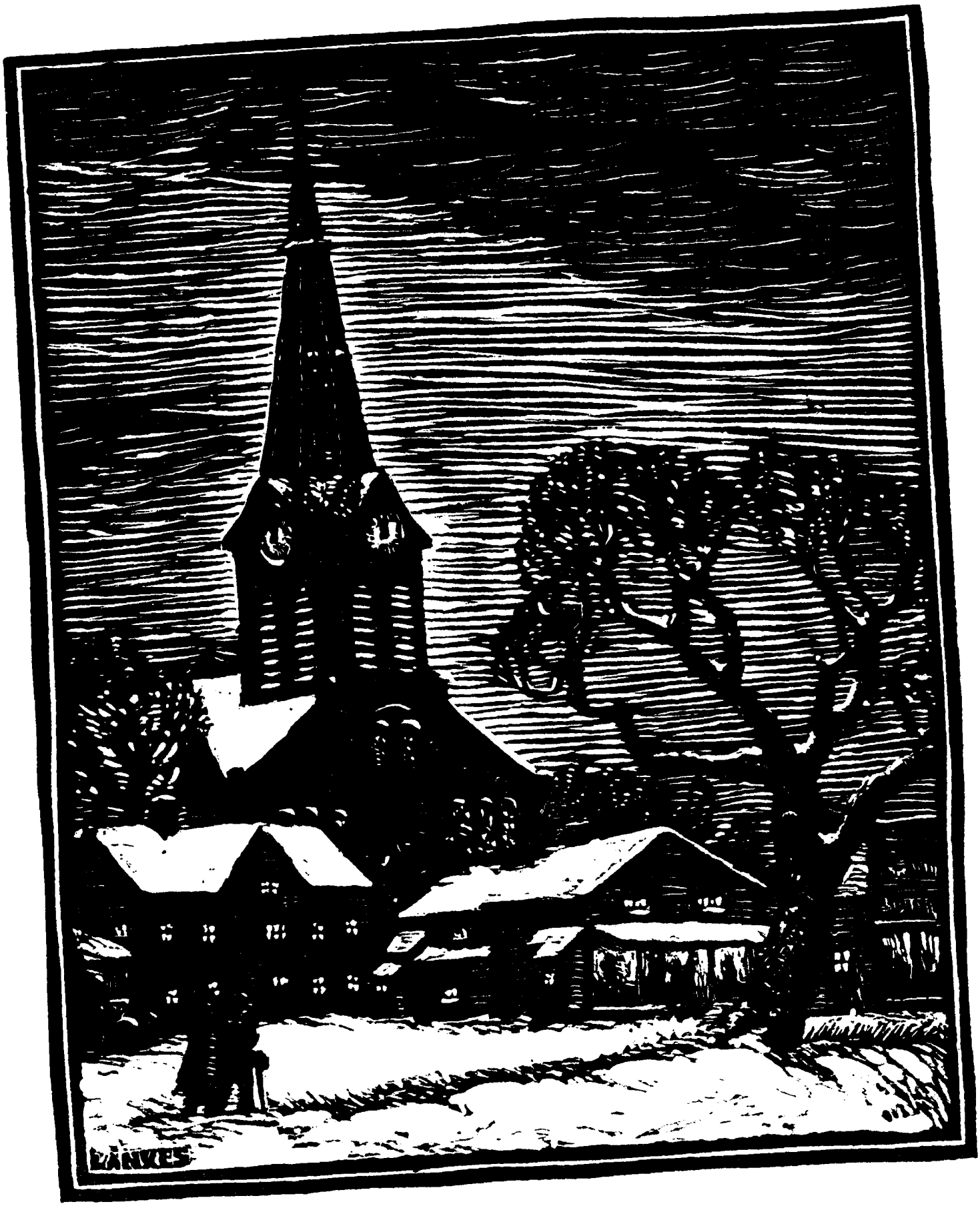

Woodcut by J. J. Lankes

MIDWINTER

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The Revolution on Quality Street

Here is the tale of how The American Mercury, Harper's, Scribner's, and The Forum are fighting behind barricades on Quality Street in a revolution that reveals our changing society. The Atlantic and Century were x-rayed in the November Graphic.

By LEON WHIPPLE

Drawings by Helen B. Phelps

IN January 1924 came "the green revolution" —The American Mercury. It came because Henry L. Mencken needed a vent, and because Alfred A. Knopf, publisher, wanted a magazine. It fitted into his publishing business. It came as the Jeremiah of a two-fold dissatisfaction with the prevailing America and its hundred per cent Babbittry. The first discontent is that of "pioneer liberalism," Mencken himself its apostle. These folks want what they conceive was the old America, free-thinking, free-speaking and free-drinking, hardy, sound, individualistic, and unspoiled by reform cant. The second discontent is imported. It is Continental, sceptic in mind and esthetic in feeling, and is gravely disappointed with America for being itself. It is due to a clash in cultures. Here is the melting-pot calling the nation a pretty kettle of fish. Naturally it finds much to criticize in the adolescent republic. Now, The Mercury swats for both branches, the disillusioned long-term Americans, and the newer alien strains. It is in no sense foreign, yet arises from a ferment in our life different from that of the old quality group—a yeast that has produced The Dial and The Masses. Mr. Mencken writes me:

> The figures show that the magazine is by no means confined to the so-called intelligenzia. My belief is that it reaches the minorities of all the larger national groups. In every such group there are men and women who are disgusted by the prevailing blather. The central aim of The American Mecury is to provide consolation and entertainment for such persons.

He adds: "The quality magazines play an important part in American life. Each has a high usefulness, and there is room for four or five more." Which proves that Mr. Mencken has more faith in American intelligence than he commonly reveals.

The essence of The Mercury is of course Mencken. I made the mistake of feeling that Mr. Knopf, who publishes a deal of Continental literature, might have a hand in its critical attitude, but he assured me that he has nothing to say about the editing, and Mencken has nothing to say about the management. And neither of them has yet taken a cent from his investment! Mr. Knopf has not dared to suggest more than a brace of articles, and declares that The Mercury is in no sense a house organ—for Mr. Mencken doesn't take particular interest in the authors whose books Knopf publishes. Study of The Mercury proves that a negligible per cent of its anti-Americanism is by foreign authors. But anti-American it certainly is, and as such welcomed. The New York Evening Post calls Mencken a "badly needed astringent," while Simeon Strunsky decorously adds: "The editor looms up as the castigator of flatulence and superficiality in American life and letters." But one need never speak for Mr. Mencken. He is vocal *per se*:

> My aim is to combat by ridicule and invective American piety, stupidity, and tin-pot morality; progressives, professional moralists, patriots, Methodist, osteopaths, Christian Scientists, Socialists, single-taxers—in brief the whole doctrine of democracy.

And he has drawn to himself a group of satellites who are vigorously expounding the Mencken doctrine in every field of our life. And so closely does he hold them to this gospel that he suggests what to write, and edits much of what is written until it all has his peculiar acerbity and vigor. Indeed, gossip has it that one contributor's article was so vastly changed recently that he refused to have it printed under his name, and when they omitted it, insisted on being paid, nevertheless!

An editor has to brood over a magazine to make it hatch

What is this Mencken touch? I shall not add my psycho-analysis of this good Baltimore house-holder to the library on him. He is a "sport"—let it go at that. He is filled with wrath at his own America because he loves her, and is furious at seeing her exploited for blather by blatherskites. He is really the gad-fly of the Greek philosopher though he is so obstreperous that many miss his real value; so he is like to win the sobriquet, "Thumb - At - The - Nose." To many he is just our play-boy, a kind of national clown, partly our American George Bernard Shaw. People wonder what he will say next—a great asset for an editor. But they don't take him seriously. Yet he is serious.

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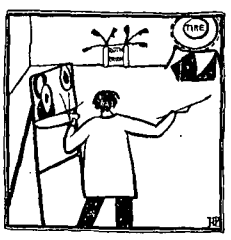
Henry L. Mencken, householder of Baltimore and Play Boy of the American Scene who has made the American Mercury the gadfly of a civilization. He makes his paper so interesting that people have to read the darn thing whether they like it or not. A national institution at forty-six, heaven-bent for hell

He hates and he loves, and these gifts are refreshing in our general tepidity. He is sincere, and so against the twins—Bunk and Blah—and wants to get at rock-bottom and build on fact. So many of us are tired of Bunk and Blah that we are willing to use The Mercury as a disinfectant.

Being sincere, The Mercury is frank and forthright about sex (but Mencken cannot be accused of playing the popular magazine game, "sex for circulation"). The Boston judge before whom he was haled by the New England Watch and Ward Society last April for selling on Boston Common a copy of The Mercury containing an alleged immoral article, Hatrack, gave him a clean bill of health: "This magazine appeals to the intelligent and open-minded and is apparently issued with no other purpose in view. I found nothing in it that would arouse sexual impulses or lascivious thoughts." He added without conscious irony that the general incomprehensibility and high price of the periodical would stop most young people from reading it. The Springfield Republican could not resist this stroke at the end of its very temperate discussion of the incident: "Mr. Mencken may belabor the Watch and Ward Society in triumph, but let him not forget our Puritan judge in the Puritan capital when next he flouts our Puritan inheritance." Hatrack, we may add, was good social case-work on a widely recognized evil such as any serious journal might discuss. It was done with a certain cruel flippancy, but it was not smut. And that the judge in Puritan Boston promptly acquitted him ought to make Mr. Mencken a little ashamed of some of his anti-Puritan tirades, and a bit more charitable. The point against Hatrack is that some of it was precious poor taste. And though Mr. Mencken began with the slogan, "'A Journal for the Civilized Minority," (and why has he dropped this?), strangely enough "civilized" does not mean to him being charitable, tolerant, or urbane. He is, indeed, too much of the fanatic crusader himself to achieve urbanity. We wish Mr. Mencken would define what he means by "civilized," for oddly enough, that is precisely what the old Quality Group thought they were. The difference again would define the revolution. N. B. One more proof of Mencken's Sincerity: no extra copies of the April Mercury were printed to satisfy the public curiosity. He is anti-Puritan but not pro-pornography.

The point is, why do so many people read The Mercury with such honest pleasure? Is so much hatred of America abroad in the land? Well, iconoclasm always has its following and just now it is the fashion. It demands nothing and is good fun. Chucking stones at stove-pipe hats is a psychic relief. The War left us with so many broken idols that many have deemed it sensible to break the rest and start fresh. In short, there really is so much bunk and such far-flung misapprehension of values in our life that a constant exposé is vastly healthful. Again Mr. Mencken used to co-edit The Smart Set, and now he edits for the new smart set—the intelligenzia. In spite of his disavowal, many folks buy The Mercury as a badge of membership in that body. The old grad who goes to the Yale Bowl with a green-covered magazine under his arm; the middle generation that wants to chew the cud of its unsown oats. They flaunt the green cover in place of the familiar buff of The Atlantic, and with the reverse meaning: "To hell with chaperones!" Further, it appeals to the "younger generation"—youth of the campus and the parlor commune. Moreover, it satisfies the people we may call Continental-minded, by birth or in spirit, who care naught for—do not even know—the tradition behind Scribner's or The Atlantic. They are a powerful force in American thought and this force competes with and molds the native culture for good and evil.



Tire and tooth-paste folks still hold that readers want pictures

The Mercury, as part of the revolution, is also devoted to ideas, to confessions (exposures second-hand, often) and to religion, by attack at least. And it adds the Seven Arts. It seeks the Atlantic's "reader interest" by a jazz tempo and an universal anger. It has no formula save of style; and proves inspiringly eclectic in both subjects and authors.

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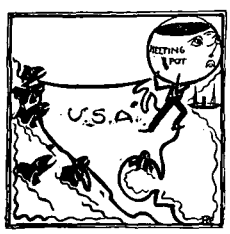
You may read about morons, perfumes, the Coolidge myth, the possibilities of birth-control, surgery, the goings-on of the Constitutional fathers, and in each get a quality of realism, frontal attack and frankness that stirs the o'er-regimented brain-cells. It is plain "good stuff," ably edited. Really, I think lots of folks read The Mercury just because they like the darn thing.

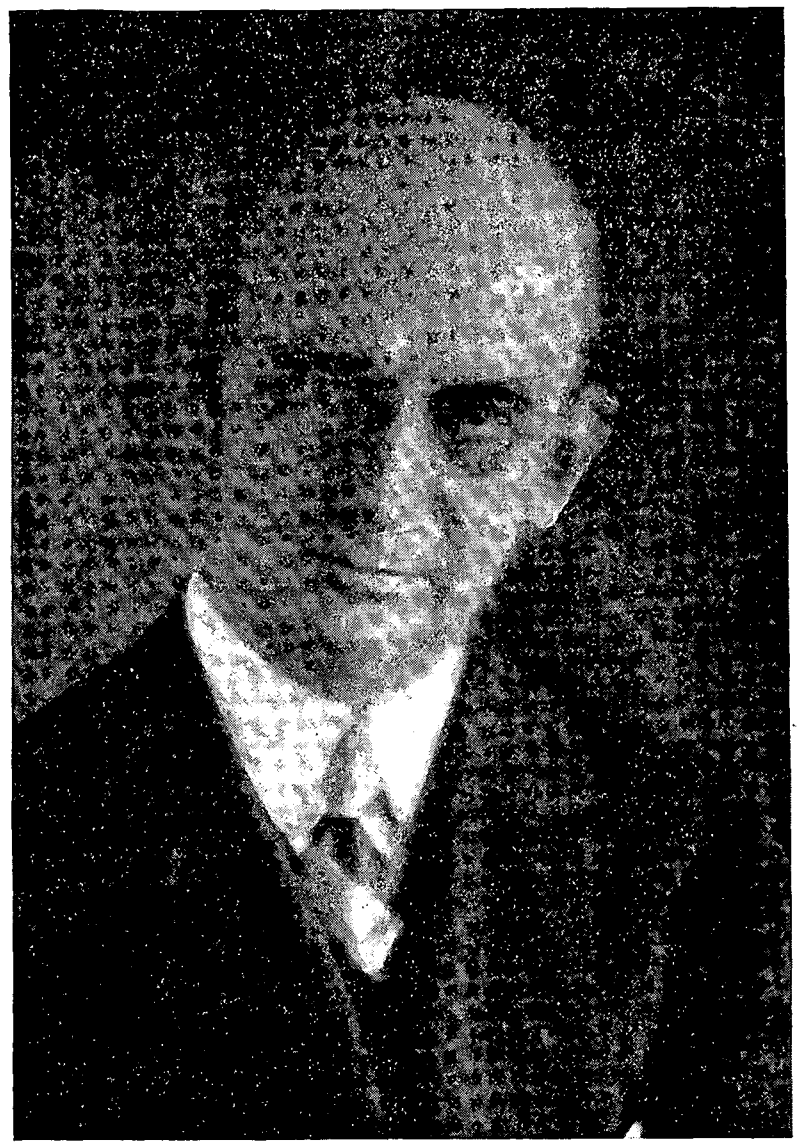
By the gods' high irony, Mencken, if anybody, wears the mantle of the muckrakers. The Quality Group have never done much muckraking though they learned things from the muchrakers' interest in people and problems. Here is muckraking of a whole people. The old muckrakers attacked privilege, the forces that preyed on democracy. The Mercury attacks democracy itself, or forces at work in it—its mass movements, *mores,* its incarnations and coercions. The muckrakers went after the abuses of king and church and nobles while the Menckenites pillory the excesses and shortcomings of the Roundheads. The revolutionary significance of The Mercury is that it sustains a fierce attack on the American idea—in government, in manners and morals—and finds an increasing audience for this. The question remains: Can you build an institution on iconoclasm? We don't recall that men ever have. Already The Mercury is suffering from the real danger of its program, monotony. But Mr. Knopf believes The Mercury will endure. He even has a cynical faith that the big advertisers will use the magazine, despite its morale. It is also clear that Mr. Mencken is first and last a good editor. If he finds the crowd tiring of his ballyhoo, he may change his tune.

Harper's Magazine didn't exactly change its tune in the Red Revolution of September 1925. Rather it had its face lifted. "It had become an institution," says Thomas B. Wells, the editor, "So nobody ever talked about its articles. We had become much more modern than people realized, but the younger generation did not know this. They thought it was a bit old-fashioned and stodgy. We decided to be read and provoke discussion." They sought to get up-to-date and become a purveyor of ideas to the modern clientele.

They had a strong institution to start with, our oldest magazine (1850), with an inspiring history in art and letters. Its fiction was annually awarded distinguished mention by the arbiters; its travel and science articles were a delight; its pictures excellent though a heavy drain under the new economics. Henry M. Alden, who survived his confrères, Aldrich and Gilder, had maintained a circulation, respectable for this group, and never a year in his long editorship had the magazine failed to make a comfortable profit. It is true, Harper and Brothers owed a large amount of money to J. P. Morgan; George Harvey was the liaison; and this gave rise to talk about "Harper's being in the Street." But I am told that though the fixed charges were high, they were always paid, and never allowed to interfere with the amount expended on the magazine.



Here is the melting pot calling the nation a pretty kettle of fish



Thomas B. Wells—"Tommy." Fourth editor of Harper's Magazine in 77 years. Introduced the new psychology and the fresh discoveries of science into his pages twenty years ago. Rebuilt the finances of the House, then created the "new" Harper's. Foe of charlatanism, protagonist of classical excellence and good taste

What influence this somewhat unusual relationship had on editorial policy—if any—remains unclear. However, in 1921, under Mr. Wells a reorganization of the entire House of Harper took over a million and a quarter of the Morgan bonds so that by 1925 the magazine as well as the book publishing business was in a sound and independent financial position.

Next, a year was spent on a new dress. That artist in type, W. A. Dwiggins, of Boston, redesigned the entire format from cover to "ding-bats" (head and tail pieces). Title, lettering, white space—all added to readability and character. These revolutionists are keen for new styles. The Century tried imitation leather and failed. Messrs. Knopf and Mencken, after rejecting ambitious designs, finally got Elmer Adler of Pyson Printers to "dress" The Mercury. He adapted a fifteenth century border from d'Essling's History of Venetian Printing and took advantage of the recutting of the lovely Garamond type-face for the letter-press. Print on green—and you prove the "attention and recognition value" of striking clothes. The Forum's new cover

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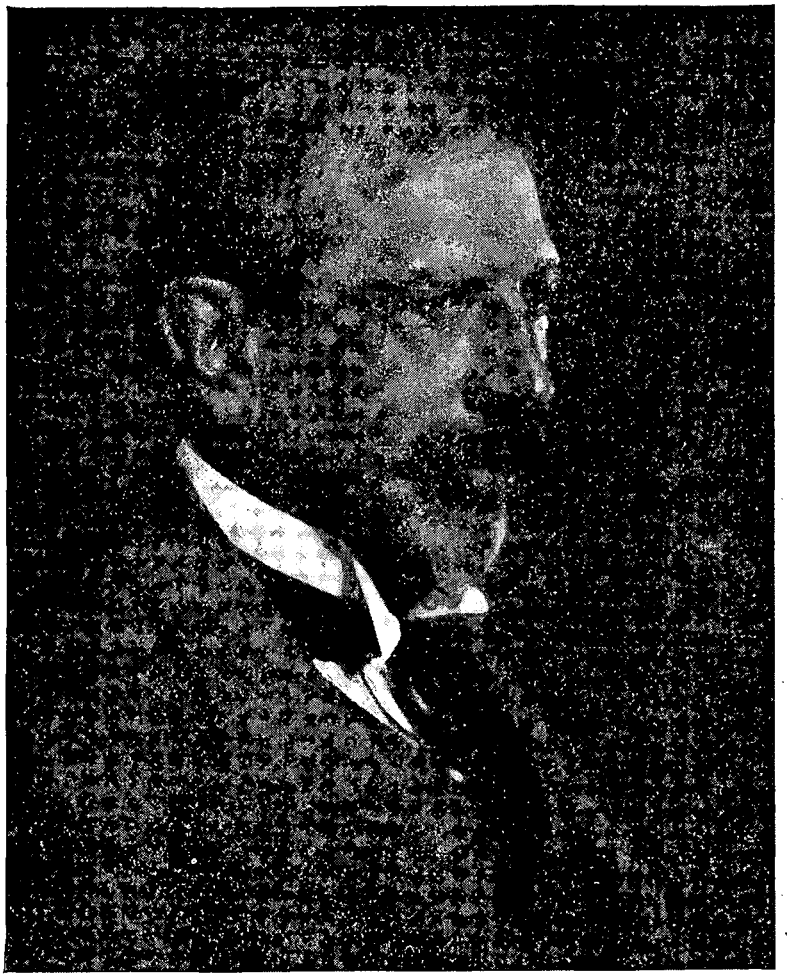

Robert Bridges has lived through the old and new regimes. He joined Scribner's the day it was born in 1887 as assistant editor and has been editor since the retirement of Edward Burlingame in 1914. Now he is trying to keep all the charm of the old quality tradition of which Scribner's is the residuary legatee and also to give it an urbane flavor of modernity

was designed by Alfred C. Bossom. The Atlantic had long enjoyed the Houghton-Mifflin beauty and simplicity of typography; while Scribner's recalls with the pride of the old regime that Stanford White did their cover years ago. The Harper's red is *not* Russian, but discovered by Mr. Wells on an ad-card in a Fifth Avenue bus. Mr. Leach of The Forum got his mandarin red from a woman's skirt on the golf links and his border from the earliest Americans on the temple walls of the Mayan city of Palenque.

The smiting quality of Harper's was calculated. They wanted something in good taste, yet effective enough to draw the eye from the bathing-girls, type frenzy, and rainbow parade that makes our modern newsstand a Cubist riot. They had good wine and wanted a good bush. They got one, too, for the newsstand sale of Harper's doubled with that September morn. This is another slant on the "new audience." Harper's has about 40,000 newsstand sales and over 60,000 by subscription. It is clear many no longer subscribe to the magazines. They snatch them as they run—and read likewise. Any editor must take thought to catch the reader's eye and bedazzle his mind, quickly. Formerly the bulk of the quality circulation came to the home, by the year, or life-time. Now the editors put in the homestead window, "Transients Accommodated."

The philosophy of the new Harper's is "Be provocative." Mr. Wells who, with Lee F. Hartman, is the mainspring of the magazine, says:

> We want to stimulate talk and thought and make Harper's fashionable among intelligent people. We hope to get articles that discuss vital problems in the public mind. The old travel article is not as interesting to the modern reader as are the great fields of women's interest and the pressing questions in the political field.

More recognition of changing taste. Harper's is most instructive; the best example of how shrewd editors select a menu they think will hit the readers they seek. They want Harper's to be a success. Their aim is somewhere between The Atlantic and The Mercury—a bit more liberal and popular than the first, less destructive and ultra than the second. Their contents naturally resembles the others'. Religion is represented by a department, this year edited by Harry Emerson Fosdick. They furnish a new brand of I Confess, dealing with personal and social problems, such as the high cost of domesticity and children versus parents. They believe they are publishing as much science material today as ever, and by as distinguished writers. Recent issues contain the names of J. B. S. Haldane, Julian Huxley, John B. Watson, Henshaw Ward, and Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle. Mr. Wells makes the interesting point that the present interest in popular science is in the direction of psychology rather than in physics or astronomy, and that such articles do not require illustrations. For the sophisticates there are humor, satire, and criticism of American life, manners, and customs.

In fiction they print at least three of the best short stories they can get, and short serials. The full length novel is omitted, perhaps because it lacks in provocative concentration. The long novel is not vanishing from the quality pages, though, for The Atlantic has recently announced a $10,000 prize for a novel and The Forum is participating in a $5,000 award for a historical tale. This is a new way of meeting the high cost of serials. Harper's first short serial, Thunder on the Left, by Christopher Morley, aroused in suspicious minds the query, Is Harper's going in for sex? The editors were amazed at the implication. The few letters of protest find, they believe, an exact parallel in similar letters about Trilby, Peter Ibbetson, and Jude the Obscure received when Harper's printed these stories years ago. They assert Morley's story was a masterpiece and as sincere a work of art as the novels of Du Maurier and Hardy.

Indeed, the Harper folks want it distinctly understood that they are merely interpreting an old tradition for a new time. Their sharpest break was to leave out the pictures, but it was, naturally, not a leap in the dark. To a widespread questionnaire their readers replied that they cared little or nothing for the illustrations of fiction, but did feel a fondness for photographic illustration of travel articles and for diagrammatic illustration of scientific papers (which are still promised on occasion). The experts in art agreed. Mr. Wells gives this diagnosis:

The Forum loves a fight but asks serious fighters

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Their feeling was that illustrations were no longer necessary in a high quality magazine owing to the fact that the large woman's magazines had stolen our thunder by illustrating very elaborately in color, and had employed at fabulously high prices such illustrators as the advertisers were not employing at even higher prices. . . . I think we must all admit that illustration has become a highly commercialized business in this country as it has in France, and that it is no longer possible to secure illustrations of the type for which Harper's and The Century were famous. . . . I would also say that I would certainly not refer the beauty-seeker to the illustrations now appearing in the American magazines with a few rare exceptions. I should be very glad to refer him to the frontispieces in color we are printing each month, for these pictures are carefully selected from the canvases of the most distinguished and modern painters in the world whose work is available for such purposes.

We may recall that when Glenn Frank put the black-and-white cuts into The Century he made the point that magazine illustration had degenerated into a cult or business of a fairly low order. The really big painters were not contributing. The art work was all subsidiary to the text; it didn't stand on its legs and carry a message of its own, but was become conventionalized and sterile. He broke the rule by getting a painter like the late George Bellows to draw for him. Along came a popular magazine and paid Mr. Bellows a huge sum for illustrating a novel. So you see the editors feel that the artists are no longer contributors on their own, but mere adjuncts to print, and take place with the poets who can't force their way into some of the magazines save as fillers for half-pages in the make up. Another Harper's editor wrote me thus:

We felt we could give our readers more for their money of the sort of thing they seek in a magazine like Harper's: actual reading matter, information and opinion that will stimulate and appeal to their minds, unmixed with pictures which are of a comparatively passing interest and are to be found in great quantity elsewhere—in newspapers and rotogravure sections. How little they feel the loss of the pictures and how much they appreciate the extra reading-matter which the change enables us to give them is shown by the small number of letters we have received lamenting the loss of the pictures and by the immediate gain in circulation.

Here is the economic argument, combined with the new taste, and the result read from the circulation barometer. If we do want ten or twenty more pages of text rather than pictures, the fact is an index of our spirit. That we do not want the old pictorial travel and science articles means we are a different sort of people. Here again is cleavage. Harper's is not American in the old sense, nor Continental in the new, but of that recent *genre,* modern-American, post-bellum. That it finds an audience its circulation proves; and that the venture proves not unprofitable is shown by an average increase of twenty-two pages of paid advertising per month. The success has been helped by the impact of novelty, and a lively promotion campaign.

Forum cover was discovered across the links on a lady's golf skirt

Henry Goddard Leach is the most revolutionary editor on Quality Street. He believes you can make all Americans intelligent by enough discussion. He believes in giving both sides a chance to speak and so endures the slings and arrows of each in turn. He says, 'At present controversy is my profession, peace my pastime. Can you explain it?"

Here we must note how to appraise circulation gains as indices of public taste. Circulation can be bought. Also it can be won. Also, it must be held. S. S. McClure clings to the notion that he never invested money in circulation, but Phillips, who was then his business manager, says that is all poppy-cock. He did. But the point is that if in a given six months' period, Harper's, The Mercury, and The Forum each came up say 30,000, and one of them spent little or nothing on promotion, the second, $30,000, and the third, $60,000, the resulting growth can be judged only with these figures in mind. Of course, on the other hand, it is probably easier for a magazine with 50,000 to 70,000 readers to add another 10,000 than it is for a magazine starting from scratch. Moreover, promotion will not keep readers. The magazine must do that. Harper's feels that they have used simple, direct, and inexpensive promotion plans, and they are very happy because their renewals are also increasing.

Certainly Harper's is booming and "Tommy" Wells is capping the long tale of Mr. Alden's success with a remarkable achievement of his own. He took over a big proposition for which the largest financial group in the country had failed to find a formula in twenty-five years; since, indeed, that long ago day when, as Walter Page reveals in his

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Letters, Doubleday and Page were almost called in to rejuvenate Harper's. Instead they took on Colonel George Harvey—and that was that, both for Harper's and Colonel Harvey. Wells was only an assistant editor, not a business man, which makes his success in these days of hard-boiled "strings" of magazines all the more amazing. He recast and freed the financial structure first and then carried out the ideas that had been in his system all the years he had been serving for Rachel. Finally, it is a much more hazardous task to put new wine into an old bottle than to start like Mencken with a new hip flask. Leach and Sedgwick all but started with nothing, but Wells gambled with a circulation at the start of his innovations bigger then than Leach or Mencken has to date.

SO the editors of Harper's are proud of this autumnal flowering and of having their magazine, little talked about a year ago, now the subject of discussion in press, at dinner tables, and in clubs. But we must say a Quality Magazine mustn't be too sharply measured by quantity, and that a year is too short a time to reveal whether Harper's is really "new."

Shall we turn the beauty-seeker over to the ladies' journals, the rotogravure, and the pictorial tabloids? Is this the price of revolution? "Are you going to give up the pictures?" I asked Robert Bridges, of Scribner's, point blank. I had heard his house was making a final year's trial at striking a balance between art costs and moderate circulations.

"No," was the cheering reply. "We have given up nothing but our expensive color plates. Our department, The Field of Art, prints several reproductions monthly and is edited by Royal Cortissoz, our leading art critic. Our articles illustrated by the authors have taken very well. Look." He showed me with pride Captain Thomasson's sketches for his War Tales of the Marines. He drew some under fire with burnt matches for crayons. "Here are Will James' cowboy yarns with his own drawings. And often we have a group with the artist providing a bit of text, too." Even with this, I do not feel that the pictures in Scribner's or the line-cuts The Forum finds room and money for, compare with the best of the art in the old quality magazines. Yet I cannot escape the feeling too that we need the pictures and that lots of people still want them. So I do not subscribe to the late Joseph Pennell's valediction at the close of his beautiful book, Adventures of An Illustrator:

Harper's Magazine didn't exactly change its tune; it had its face lifted—

And, as I end this chapter, American illustration ends too. The Century ceased to print illustrations, that is, the work of distinguished artists, reproduced by eminent engravers, and printed by master craftsmen, a short while ago. And with the issue of September this year Harper's gave up the task of putting pearls before Americans, and the triumph of the comic is complete, and so is the dry-rot of this country which was once my United States, in the art of illustration.

But his very book is a glory to print and picture—proof enough we can have beauty on our pages. At a price—for this volume from Little, Brown and Company of Boston, costs twelve and a half dollars—and if that be advertising, make the most of it!

Now, the old quality magazines filled a real duty as an annex to our galleries. They brought the art of the time into the home and to thousands who got it nowhere else. Some of their "art" looks feeble and passé today, but they did not reproduce men like Abbey and Pennell and Du Maurier; they had the loving skill of Timothy Cole and Wolff in engraving; and they had art editors like W. A. Drake of The Century who fostered a real school of illustration. American illustration had a world fame, and created a magazine genre unknown to Europe. Now what have we? The expensive journal of technical art, some high-priced illustrations in the women's periodicals, and the "art" of the mass magazines with their blurry tricks, fake sentiment, and pretentious gaudiness that finally produce "the pretty girl cover," the human interest cartoon and the scenes of spurious drama to "carry the story." There is a lust for pictures, but for bad pictures or news pictures.

Is the only choice between mush and the realism of photographs? Is there no place for beauty, poetry, imagination? Well, Booth and Arthur Rackham and Maxfield Parrish often get it—in the advertising sections. The tire and tooth-paste folks still hold that readers want pictures—in the quality field, especially. No, it's a question of price. There is also a lesson in the vanishing pictures and the encroaching text. That proves what a cerebral, mind-plagued, cross-word puzzle crew we are! There is no real sense in this divorce of companion arts, for to read and to look at lovely pictures at the same time is a civilized process, even for the civilized minority. So "the new review" strikes me as a bit cold and clammy no matter how neat its type dress—a half-thing, lacking in emotion and mysticism, in a sense, unsexed. As usual in America, we seem to be delegating esthetics to the women in their magazines while the new reviews follow mental utilitarianism.

The philosophy of the new Harper's is "Be provocative!"

Everybody hopes that Scribner's will prove the residuary legatee of the quality idea. With an open field it should collect all the dispossessed readers who desire literature, pictures, and a cultural combined with sociological impetus. For Scribner's is striking the modern note, too. They are printing a lot of matter on crime, peace, education and so forth. Only, they do not sacrifice the old format; and perhaps their sociology is more objective and factual than the subjective social psychology in Harper's. They have some very modern departments, As I Like It by William (*Continued on page* 469)

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Nineteen Ways of Being a Bad Parent

By MIRIAM VAN WATERS

IN the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston there are carefully preserved two copies of a book by Cotton Mather, published in 1695, on the most modern of themes, Help for Distressed Parents. Curiously enough, in both copies the title page is missing, but in the Evans Bibliography one may find the text of this title page as given below.

It is a shock to realize that it was necessary to warn our New England ancestors of evil courses in the days of their ungodly childhood. But that the children of 1695 behaved in a manner "afflictive unto their parents" we can readily believe. For reasons which psychiatrists and sociologists are now pointing out to us, parents are usually afflicted by the actions of their children. It is our human way of walking on two feet—the foot that goes forward and the foot that holds back. It is only when either process is too long or too short, too abrupt or too uneven, that the march gets us nowhere.

Today when parents are unusually afflicted by their children we think of examining the parents themselves.

In spite of all the great disciplines in the world children are still to be found unhappy, restless, insecure and without guidance. Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Quakers, Unitarians, Scientists, artists, social workers each have a philosophy of life which, applied to their children, would result in family relationships different from those we see today. The parent-child relation evidently presents fundamental difficulties, for all these followers of great ideas have "trouble with their children" and when in trouble they tend to use identical methods. Children of labor leaders, emancipators, radicals who would go to jail for free speech or self-determination, are as likely to have dominant, possessive parents as the children of Methodists or Republicans.

There are more than nineteen ways of being a bad parent. Each situation in family life is unique, a dynamic meeting of forces, personalities, and material surroundings in a way unheard of before and impossible to repeat. Each situation has its own laws which must be mastered with due regard for the eccentricities of all concerned. This is one of the reasons why parenthood is an exacting and exciting art. The effects of blundering may be different, just as the effects of the application of any "good" rule may be bad unless we have applied it with an intense human curiosity which makes us responsive to all that is going on at the moment—the state of the weather, the child's nerves, whether his father is rushing to catch a train. Still, we can detect certain habit patterns of bad parental behavior which tend to be repeated. Some of these show up more plainly in Juvenile Court than elsewhere. Many are found in every good neighborhood.

H E L P
for Distreſſed *Parents*
— OR —
COVNSEL & COMFORTS
FOR
Godly Parents
afflicted with
UNGODLY
Children
Warnings Unto Children to Beware
of all thoſe Evil Courſes
which would be Afflictive
unto their Parents
BY
Cotton Mather
1 6 9 5

A reconstruction of the missing title page of Help for Distressed Parents. The text is from a contemporary advertisement which reveals that it was written by "Mr. Cotton Mather" and was "sold by Vavasour Harris, at the Sign of the Bible, over-against the Blew Anchor, in Boston. 1695."

1. William was fourteen, very tall and awkward, an only child. His father was a college teacher. His mother worked in a doctor's office. At eleven, William began to take money from his parents and was whipped. About once a month he stole a dollar or so. His parents gave a dinner and he took five dollars from the purse of a guest. There was a terrific family scene in which William was told that he was a common thief and would be turned over to the police if it happened again. This was in August. In September, William entered high school. He had no brilliant sweater like the other boys, no running pants for the gym, no spending money for anything. At home his father never looked at him: for three weeks he had not spoken, even in blame; his mother did not notice the holes in his socks, but then she never had. It was the football season, and William wanted a locker and a leather helmet. One day he went into the girls' locker-room. He felt excited and foolish. He noticed a door ajar, pushed aside an absurd green silk blouse, opened a vanity case and stole three dollars. The janitor caught him. Open-mouthed and sheepish he "confessed" it to the principal, the vice-principal, the girls' gym teacher, the boys' gym teacher, two filing clerks and the registrar.

"He comes of such a good family we will send him home," was the verdict.

His teacher went with him and waited till seven in the evening for his parents to come. William's father calmly went to the telephone and called the police.

After three weeks in jail William was turned over to the Juvenile Court. The judge said to the father: "So often youngsters steal and when they have

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learned their lesson, get over it. We will just send him home." But the father said, "Not to my home. I wash my hands of him."

However, the judge did send William home. He placed him under the supervision of Mr. Collins, a kindly man on the Board of Education, a bachelor who had a knack with children. Thereafter William went to the City Hall every day after school. He sat on the edge of his chair, looking miserable and waiting till Mr. Collins had opened his mail. Then they would talk.

"Well, how are you?"

"I'm pretty well."

"Got a job yet?"

"No."

Mr. Collins got him a job as messenger and William rushed about town like a young hound. After six weeks, Mr. Collins missed fifteen dollars from his desk. William admitted at once that he had taken it. Unfortunately the money was spent, for shows, a book on electrical engineering, innumerable ice cream sodas, a fountain pen, a pair of gym shoes, and some candy. Mr. Collins sent him home, but he lost his job. In a week William was back. It was February.

"See here, William, you need a new suit of clothes."

"I know it," said William dully.

"Well, I'll stand you to some clothes. You can pay me back $2.50 a week. Then there is that fifteen dollars. It will take you to vacation time."

William emerged from the store in a completely new outfit from the skin out. He got a new job. He lived at home, not as a son but as a lodger, a shadow, an invisible element. In June he burst into Mr. Collin's office after running all the way from home.

"Mr. Collins, I think—I am not sure—but I think tonight as he was going out the door my father smiled at me."

This was eighteen months ago. Now William is a steady young fellow with an average school record. He has not stolen again.

From many points of view we feel that the college professor was a bad parent. Leaving out of account William's drab home life, the absorption of his parents in their adult pursuits, their failure to give him spending money or to clothe him properly, we face the fact that the father lacked orientation in the modern world. He should have known that science has something to say when a child steals. He should not have repudiated him when he clashed with the accepted standards of his class and position. He should have sought guidance and assisted in his son's recovery. He should have been willing to apply his concept of natural law, cause and effect, in dealing with a problem which baffled him not because of its intrinsic difficulty but because of his own chagrin and pride. He did not call in the police when a refractory liquid in his chemical laboratory went wrong, but in the case of his only son he appealed to force, partly because his emotions were aroused, partly because he was entirely ignorant of progress in the science of human behavior. Nor would he smile until he felt sure the problem was solved. He was unwilling to take the risk. He was living in the twentieth century in chemistry and in the age of tribal magic in human relations.

A parent is bad if he is not orientated in the modern world.

2. Mrs. Abbot kept a clean home. Her children were well-behaved, Tom eight, Sara four, and Ruth fifteen. Ruth went to highschool. Mrs. Abbot was a favorite with her neighbors, who were always dropping in for card parties. The excitement was not in the cards but in the conversation. Mrs. Abbot loved to talk about young people. She told the neighbors that Mary Morrison was so tough she had to be sent away to a reform school. (Mary was in the County Hospital having her tonsils out.) Mrs. Abbot believed that the man who ran the soft drink parlor at the corner sold bootleg to the highschool boys and that the girls danced half-naked on the tables. When Emma, aged sixteen, came to the Juvenile Court for running away from home, she said that her boy friend's mother had been over to Mrs. Abbot's.

"Mrs. Abbot told her I was the worst girl in the neighborhood. His mother told Fred, and he told all the gang. Fred laughed at me and said, 'You've sure got a bad reputation. Mother says I mustn't go with you.' Now I had never gone the limit, but they all kept teasing me, so when Fred got sore when I wouldn't go with his boy friend, I just thought I'd step out to show them I wasn't afraid. Now I'd like to go into a private family. I can't make good back at home with Mrs. Abbot talking about me."

One day at highschool Fred was called into the principal's office to explain why he had been absent one afternoon. He had driven a party of girls to the beach, he said, and talked frankly about it until they sent for his mother. She said she did not believe it was possible; if Fred had done it, it was the girls' fault. She repeated the stories she had heard at Mrs. Abbot's. Fred admitted that the girls coaxed him. "How many girls are not all they should be in this school?" asked the principal. Fred said he did not know of a girl who wouldn't let him kiss her.

That night at Mrs. Abbot's there was a great party and the beginning of a vague, insidious scandal about the highschool: that eighteen girls had had to leave last year because of "trouble," that 70 per cent of both boys and girls drank, that a larger number were immoral. The neighbors were puzzled, and a little thrilled. Personally, they did not know of a single girl "in trouble," but an atmosphere of anxiety and suspicion settled over the school community.

One evening when Mrs. Abbot went upstairs she found Ruth missing. She reported to the court that the girl had been kidnapped by a gang of bootleggers and white-slavers. Ruth was found in half an hour at the corner store drinking an ice cream soda. By this time, however, Mrs. Abbot had told the police her entire story of the highschool. It took three weeks of patient investigation and several court hearings to follow each thread of gossip to its source. When it was all over, out of a school population of 2,000 emerged half a dozen young people who kept late hours, many who "petted," a few boys and girls who occasionally smoked and drank, a feebleminded girl who wrote objectionable notes, three who had run away from home and were on probation. All the rest—the dark stories of promiscuity, abortions, illegitimate babies, habitual drunkenness—were utterly without foundation. Many of the girls and boys had boasted of things which never happened and "confessed" to experiences they had lived through only in imagination.

Ruth suffered the most. She is a pale, wistful child with a self-conscious manner, who remains on the fringe of any group. What little prestige she had has disappeared. She is conspicuous, yet unpopular with students and teachers. Mrs. Abbot is hardly satisfied with the investigation. She thinks

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it is still possible that "these things" are going on "under cover."

A parent is bad whose imagination is colored by an uncritical belief in the vague rumors of scandal about young people. Such parents have no sense of proportion, are ready to accept the worst because it fits in with their theories. They are the largest contributing factor to the breakdown of reputation, even of their own children.

3. Frank came to the clinic with his mother. His face was white and puffy, his hands and feet swollen. His mother said, "This boy has heart trouble. He wishes to ride his bicycle. The doctor says he mustn't, but I say if he has got to die he might as well die riding a bicycle as any other way."

The clinic doctor took a tracing of Frank's heart-beats and showed the wavering points and depressions to the mother. "We have here only a heart that needs rest—what Frank needs is two years in bed."

The mother looked as if the doctor had said, "He needs 150 elephants to play with." Her manner was blank flat denial, "This is no time to joke, if fate is to take its course, don't mock me."

That was eighteen months ago. Some sparks from the doctor's eager interest and assurance fell into Frank's being. He accepted the challenge and went to bed. A shelf was rigged to support his books and electrical apparatus, a tutor came for two hours daily. Frank is nearing sixteen. When he went to bed he was in the eighth grade. Now he is ready for junior year in highschool. His interest in mechanics does not take the form of tinkering and lifting heavy masses, and tearing all over town as his mother thought it had to; he has learned how to deal with the forces of the outside world with his intellect and emotions. Life for Frank is just beginning.

A parent is bad who accepts "fate" blindly and cannot see behind present handicaps the background of latent strengths.

4. "Dear Sister Marie:

"I am sorry for you, dear, that you could not all live together and be happy. Sis, I'll never be happy again. Darling, I am not sorry for myself but I'm sorry, so sorry, for all my folks. I'll tell you a secret and then even you will turn against me. I am going to have a baby unless Dad will let Riffey slip it for me. They are going to put Lawrence in the pen when they find him. He asked Dad five or six times to let us marry and he said we were too young. So I made Lawrence beat it out of the country. I hope to God they won't find him unless they let us marry, for I love him as I do no one else on God's earth. I would rather see him dead than in the pen. Dad said he was going to keep me. Mother won't want me now. No one will like me but I would go through it again for Lawrence. Sis, he is gone. He took my advice and they are going to have him found. They got a picture to help go by. If they won't let him marry I hope with all my heart they don't find him. My baby will be here in five months if I go ahead and have it. If it is a boy I will call it Lawrence, for I love him.

"If you love your heartbroken Sis, write to me. If you don't I don't care to live any longer. Alice.

"P. S. Dad is writing to Mother to tell her. Grandpa said he would shoot Lawrence so I begged him to leave. I don't know where he is."

Alice is seventeen. She lived in a small country town and was permitted by her parents to go with Lawrence as often as she pleased. The young people were "trusted." When they asked to marry they were told they "were nothing but babies." Confronted with biology, all the parents can fall back upon is the gun and the "pen." That this is not the only "natural way" for parents to feel is shown us every day by case-records of social workers who have changed the whole attitude of a family into sturdy acceptance of their share in the responsibility.

A parent is bad who repudiates a child in dire need.

5. "Mrs. C:

"I see you left me a note to come to see you. I am sorry to state it is impossible for me to lay off to come and I am not able to spend the money. At present I don't see how I'll get the money to send her up court day. Perhaps something may happen between now and then. I have too many worries all coming together. If you folks had to make your living by hard work you would cut out a whole lot of this affair. Life is almost too hard without this extra of worrying the life out of me. You keep the child advertised until she can't have any nice friends and follow her up and me as to where we work until no one will let us work after awhile because she has been in the reform school, and I am the mother of her. A friend of a child that had once had one side step would be very careful to not let it get known, thereby giving her a chance to make good. After awhile if you still keep on no one of a good character will go with her and then how much of a chance are you giving her? To come into my home and publish her to her friends like you did is almost unforgivable, and then to question my children as to where I work and why I quit is an insult to me you had no right to give. You wait until I break a law before insulting me. When you find a woman that can show any cleaner sheet tell me about it. I am a born hundred per cent American and I have a right to live in this country. The only way I can do any better by my children is for you to furnish the money for me to live on. From my way of seeing things you are doing more to ruin the child's life than all the boys did. You seem to think you are dealing with toughs. All I ever do is to ask a right to live. I let the other fellows alone and bother no one and my children have the same name by everybody that knows them. Why you want to ruin them or me is more than I know. If I had the money to get out of the state I would do it and know then my breathing the same air wouldn't bother you no more. Mrs. Brown."

Mrs. Brown in her vigorous vulgarity speaks for a great many parents who have had far more education. She is of the type of personality that is called paranoid. She is not so much suspicious as hopelessly warped at the point of intake. Her child, Ernestine, is on probation to the most kindly and considerate of women. None of the things of which Mrs. Brown complains ever happened. Ernestine was never in a reform school, her probation officer never advertised her to her friends nor questioned her about her mother's work. On the contrary, she secured a scholarship for the girl and financial aid for the mother. Ernestine is rather ashamed of her mother, who holds violent opinions against school teachers, churches, libraries, and all public officials. Mrs. Brown constantly nags and upbraids her children and accuses them of countless offenses they have not committed. She is always bringing them to court saying, "Now you give them a good scare," but she is constitutionally unable

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to maintain consistent discipline. She rebels against the most tactful use of authority. She lives under the shadow of persecution; is indolent, selfish, greedy, and obstructive.

A parent is bad who has a warped view of authority and is unable to make use of the social resources to which she, or he, has appealed for assistance.

6. Dorothy was the kind of girl who comes to court "accidentally," through violation of traffic regulations. She was driving her car fifty-three miles an hour in a 15-mile zone. This was the second time it had happened. She was sixteen. She told the judge that if she had to be arrested, she wished she had been going really fast, not just poking along. Her parents did not think it necessary to come to court. Her young married brother said, "It serves Sis right." However, when the judge decided to hold Dorothy in the detention home for a few days everyone came to court with indignant protest—two lawyers, a family doctor, a school teacher from a select boarding-school, and half a dozen friends.

The mother said that Dorothy was under the care of the doctor; her "nerves" would never survive the shock of being detained with "common offenders." The court hearing was an "outrage." The family was "absolutely respectable." She appealed to the doctor for confirmation. He answered her with monosyllables. Dorothy looked the picture of health. For two years she had driven her own car, attended dances with friends of whom her family never heard; she had a latch-key. In short, Dorothy was a young person without the slightest parental supervision. Her mother spent a great deal of time crying in a darkened room; she considered herself an unfortunate woman. Her father spent most of his time at his club. They finally admitted they knew nothing whatever about Dorothy's affairs, it was an intolerable annoyance now to be asked about them. They took the attitude that such court procedure was insulting, not meant for their "kind of home" but for the poor and the immigrant.

Gradually they were made to face facts. Dorothy returned to her boarding-school under supervision. She is not a fortunate girl. She is, in truth, extremely needy.

Parents are bad who labor under the delusion that law enforcement is only for those who live below the minimum economic standard, and in their particular case advice is an insult.

7. John was a young college student volunteering as a Big Brother. He was not very successful with his boys because he could not get on with their parents. He always took the boy's side. When a mother would object to the company her boy kept John would say, "What do you know about him? You are ruining the boy's life."

The young man was very unhappy and saw all his cases through his own lenses. This was to be expected because his own parents still treated him as a child. A phrase of his mother's kept echoing in his ears. It came to him in a letter on his twenty-fourth birthday and had to do with his best friend: "I have always considered Henry's influence over you bad. It is nothing short of poison."

Henry and John read together and talked of social reconstruction and Freud. The mother had married at seventeen, and at seventeen her contact with the world had ceased. To her John would never be older than the little boy whose elbows were always out and who wept when she did not kiss him goodnight. From her point of view, her description of Henry's influence was right; it had acted like some strange drug that made her son forever alienated to her.

The tragedy of her lonely and suspicious isolation is equalled only by the tragedy of the blind spot in John. Even if she did not understand, she might have had faith in the growth-process. Failing this, she might have had enough love and tact to keep her from wounding her son in the one unforgivable spot during adolescence—the place where we keep our hero-worship.

A parent is bad who does not realize that with adolescence comes a tremendous pull of loyalty toward friends outside the family group.

8. The neighbor agreed to come in and sit with Edith's mother. This was no hardship to the neighbor because the mother was attractive. She had earned her own living for years. Unusually well read, she had the gift of vivid speech. There was really no reason why she should be known to everyone as Edith's mother except that she expected it. Her own personality had an individual flavor like the tang of a mountain apple.

"Well Edith just had to go to this dinner. She did not wish to go, of course; she has refused so many—some day Edith will be a mighty unhappy girl. She can't have her mother always."

Edith is twenty-three, an only child. When she married, it was understood that the mother would not lose her daughter; on the contrary, her retinue merely was to be augmented by the presence of Arthur. Both young people worked downtown and the mother kept house for them. All went well until they began to take on outside interests in the evening. With Arthur it was business, with Edith night school. Then, for the first time in her life, the mother took to her bed. She was ill and faint and could never be left alone at night. The doctor agreed that she must stay in bed, for although he found no organic disease, she had lost weight rapidly and had become fatigued and pale.

Edith responded to this situation with an eagerness she had never shown to Arthur. Never strong before, she now had the strength of two. She kept her job and ministered to her mother. She never went anywhere.

Six months passed and the doctor said jokingly he could not tell which was the patient. The mother began to have a faint color in her cheeks and Edith was like wax. Arthur did nothing about it, for all three and the doctor were busy observing their concept of filial piety in the face of that exacting religion—an invalid parent.

The daughter's attentions to her mother were variously described by the neighbors as "beautiful" or "too bad," according to viewpoint. Edith developed fears. Her mother might faint while she was gone, or stop breathing, or become despondent and run away.

One day this parent woke up. The diet of devotion had not grown any thinner but her appetite demanded something more. She embraced a new religion, sent her doctor and the children packing. Wistfully she began the task of regaining her hold on life. She cannot explain that the trouble lay in the fact that she had always dreaded marriage for Edith and when it came "it swept her off her feet." She is in reality not a bad parent now.

A parent is bad who does not face the idea of family formation for the next generation.

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9. "My Dear Friend:

"I've had a pretty hard time lately so I'm writing to you for advice, which I think you expect me to do. It's the same old story of mother and dad.

"Dad kisses me and mother gets sore and makes sarcastic remarks to daddy including me. Then dad gets sore and hollers at mother. Then they both start fighting over me. Mother positively don't want dad to kiss me. While dad, on the other hand, if I don't let him kiss me, is perfectly horrid and my life is miserable one way or the other. I can't imagine what to do in a case like that. I hate to start to be enemies with dad and I equally dislike the prospect of enemies with mother so I turn to you as a last source of help. You have helped me with advice over a good many things. Can you help me in this? Hoping this finds you happier than I, I remain, your bewildered Marion."

Marion is struggling with the gravest complexities of human relationships. She came to the court only because her parents quarreled over what school they would send her to and finally kept her out altogether. Marion appeared to be a carefree girl but she was not happy at home. Only after months of patient friendliness in the court, did the deep source of grief reveal itself. Jealousy had crept into the family. Her father and mother were unhappily married. To the mother, the daughter was a rival in combat for the father's interest. To the father, however unconsciously, the daughter was a kind of substitute wife. His parental role was overshadowed by an emotion he believed to be fatherly affection, yet had he examined it more closely he would have discovered it wore a different face. Marion is helpless between currents of adult emotion which she can neither appease, nor satisfy.

Parents are bad who permit a thwarted love-life to color their relationship to their child.

10. Mary is a brilliant college girl who delights in mathematics and has won a scholarship. She spends her week-ends in her room and shrinks from social activities. She rarely visits her parents, who are getting old. In her early childhood two incidents stand out clearly. When she was five, she took delight in a red calico dress and was rebuked by her father. When she was eleven, she was talking to a boy cousin in the cellar and was punished by her mother. She did not understand why she was punished; she only remembered the stern horror on her mother's face. In adolescence, there were family scenes because, although she attended church, it was plain that her heart was not there. Religion was the dominant motive of her father's life. Into this religion flowed no streams of modern science, or humanism, or culture. He had only one door through which to view the world; he found no happiness in his daughter's mental growth; he did not realize that she too was seeking truth; he became stone-blind to her personality. A barrier of traditionalism kept him from her.

A parent may be bad if some human impulse, however good in itself, becomes hypertrophied and grows at the expense of parental feeling.

11. Robert comes from an interesting family. His grandfather was an itinerant preacher with eleven children, all of whom had achieved some kind of distinction. Robert's youngest uncle was a lawyer. He had left home at fifteen after a scene with the preacher grandfather. There had been a family council during which the young fellow was confronted with his collection of the bones of various animals. He had ranged the prairies for them, and here they lay in a series, mute evidence of his interest and belief in evolution. On this occasion he placed his shoulders firmly against the wall, defied everyone and was turned out of the house. The young uncle had lived in a nearby town and never saw the grandfather again. The latter had had a strange custom of taking his entire family on excursions into the hills to look for his tombstone, a special kind of granite on which his heart was set. He had been resting under it forty years when his grandson came to court.

Robert's father was a teacher and in all things the reverse of his rebellious brother. He was a stern disciplinarian. His ideas of right and wrong covered not only the field of morals in their primary sense, honesty, chastity, piety, but manners and fashions as well. It was right to wear blue or black suits, wrong to wear green; right to wear the hair in a certain way, wrong to plaster it back with brilliantine. He not only hated automobiles, radio, and moving pictures, but a new manner of speaking, or walking, or thinking, made him uncomfortable. That is to say, he had become stabilized at a comparatively early age and could not take in new experience.

Robert was like his uncle. The immediate trouble was cigarettes. "I have told my classes that if a boy of mine should smoke cigarettes, I would turn him out." Robert had smoked.

For a parent to become prematurely stabilized, so that he loses a sense of proportion and cannot distinguish between major and minor values, is to become a bad parent.

12. It is impossible to think of human beings without characterizing them. "There is not much to Ethel." "John is exactly like his father." "Louise is stubborn." If we stop to think of the various ways in which we characterize children we see that almost always it is in terms of their fancied response to ourselves. We do not observe them in their own being. Hence we call children shy, studious, wistful, frank, weak, unfeeling, egotistic, sensitive, not because they are these things but because we interpret their behavior in terms of our own emotion. We are no more skilled in the prerequisites of observation of children than we are in taking deep sea soundings. Child observation requires a special kind of eye and some training. But in this field we all think we are experts. In other scientific observations our errors do not affect the material in any way —which goes on being a star or protoplasm; but when a child is falsely observed and classified wrongly by someone with no understanding he may be injured. Many an adult feels all his life he has been playing a part forced on him in youth by some such label as "evasive" or "happy go lucky."

A woman whose strength and simplicity and wisdom have served hundreds of needy folk was called in her childhood "a little mouse" because she was a grave and silent child. It was not timidity but thoughts that kept her quiet. She resented this all her life.

Evidence of the effect for good or bad of such interpretations of a child's personality is often seen in court. Perhaps the commonest example is the parent who maintains her child is entirely without feeling. "She has no sense of remorse. Nothing that I say has the slightest effect." The

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mother has not read the signs correctly. The lip has quivered before it set, the throat has swollen before it tightened, the entire body is eloquent. But to the parent who is looking for words or sobs, "Jane is now and always has been phlegmatic."

A parent who makes a faulty characterization of a child is likely to produce bad results.

13. Vivian was discontented. She simply was not happy. The tennis tournament at the school was "'baby stuff," the dancing was "hick stuff." She took no part in the active pleasures of campfires, hikes, dramatics, swimming, yelling and masquerade parties. She was fourteen and most of the girls at the "opportunity" school were older. She had run away from home with two sailors and had spent a long time in the hospital. It was supposed that after these tragic experiences she would appreciate the freedom of the school in the country, but although there was no lock, bar, nor bolt, she declared it a "baby Sing-Sing." And now she insisted on being removed because "there's nothing to interest me here."

The mother pleaded too. "My affairs are different now" (she was beginning to get her alimony). "I can give her so much more. I can dress her like her sister" (her sister was nineteen and an usherette in a fashionable movie). "I can show her good times."

Then, as the court looked doubtful, the mother broke out into a statement of her final philosophy: "How would you like to be cooped up? I want to tell you you can't stop a young girl from pleasure. Spirit-crushing is not uplift."

This mother has broken no law; her life is decent. She was deeply hurt when Vivian "became immoral" and cooperated with the court every step of the way in prosecuting the men and giving medical treatment to Vivian. She would have agreed to a short term of "penal servitude" to teach Vivian a lesson had that been the practice of the Juvenile Court, but she rebelled at a prolonged course of treatment which aimed to change Vivian's ideas of fun. Her goal of family life embraced a well-set table, a "real good" bed, the proper furniture, with music, magazines, and sofa pillows, an income sufficient for shows, rides, parties and the latest thing in clothes. She expected her girls to have enough common sense "not to go too far." She did not realize that in making life as easy as possible she had so cheapened it that it had become hardly worth the effort. This mother had deprived her children of something fundamental, not only to morality and the development of personality, but to the thrill of happiness.

A parent may be bad if the goal placed before the children is too immediate and too easy, or is so concerned with money and "comfort" that the children become bored with life.

14. "Dear Miss X—:

"Please keep me informed about Helen. I am resting in this beautiful spot. If Helen wants to be self-supporting perhaps it is just as well to let her try it. But I certainly do not want her to enter Library School. She had planned always to go to college. I do not think she ought to associate with Sybil. Now that I am so far away, I have to depend upon you. Please do not leave everything to Helen's judgment. Sincerely, Mrs. G.

"P. S. I wish you would help me get Marie into the F— School."

This mother has four exceptionally bright and attractive children. When they were babies she divorced their father for infidelity. Since then she has relied on churches, courts, and social agencies to bring them up. The two little boys were placed in private homes. The mother pays no board, sees them occasionally, criticizes their manners, but otherwise takes no interest in them. She has refused to relinquish them for adoption. The boys have a wistful attitude of not quite belonging to their foster parents, whom they love. Their mother is like a sovereign who appears only when someone threatens her claim of ownership.

Marie, aged thirteen, is very happy. At eight she was placed in a boarding-school. Every three or four months the mother writes to the social worker to change Marie's school or to provide music lessons, or not to let her bob her hair, or go with some particular girl.

Helen the oldest girl, has worked her way through high-school and has saved $180. She is a moody, tyrannical young person, but after years of struggle finally has adjusted herself to her own temperament and to intercourse with her fellow human beings. On being received into the Library School, she wrote wistfully:

"Perhaps mother will not consider me such a failure after all. I wish you would write her."

But the mother is not quite satisfied. She would prefer a different career for her daughter.

In her mind, the parental role is vested with final authority, without the inconvenience of carrying the burdens of daily intercourse. Similarly many fathers seem to think that their duty is fulfilled when they "take a hand" in time of trouble or appear in an emergency. Parenthood, however, is not in this act or that act; it is a process requiring continuous interest and devotion.

A parent is bad who is a parent only spasmodically, and then usually at the wrong time.

15. If one judges from court-room impressions one is likely to fall into the belief that the bad parents—or those likely to be called that carelessly—are the ones who inspire the most love. The child of the woman who drinks too much is so often passionately loyal. Perhaps there is a deeper layer in the child-parent relationship which we do not understand. So often what we call a bad home situation has no bad effect upon the child, and again things may appear well yet the child shows distress.

A throng of child-custody cases comes to mind. Take one in which the father accuses the mother of immorality. There is evidence that would justify removing the child, but the erring parent is given another chance. Outwardly, the mother submits to conventions, accepts supervision, her neighbors respect her; but something is wrong and the child reveals it mutely. Loss of appetite, change of posture, a "frozen" attitude, night terrors, delinquencies, and many other symptoms of emotional difficulty present themselves. And just as recent studies show that disorders in nutrition may be traced, not to the physiology of the child but to the over-anxiety of the parent, so in court we may trace delinquencies in young children to the emotional strains they undergo in adult company.

In contrast, in these other cases where children really thrive with parents who break laws, violate customs, and appear unfit you suspect there is at work after all some hidden integrity of personality which shelters the child from witnessing the conflict. if there is one. It may be better

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for a child to live with this doubtful sort of parent than with the over-scrupulous, harassed, worried, apprehensive parent who would seem on first sight to be a better influence. "Wholesome neglect" is sometimes better than too much attention in the concerns both of the body and of the spirit of children.

For older adolescents there is no reason to shrink from exposure to reality. But the young child should not share the moral, religious and social struggles of his parents. Let them present a sound front to the child.

A parent is bad who cannot shield a child from premature exposure to adult anxiety or perplexity.

16. In every group of children at play, as in almost all assemblies of human beings, one or more edge toward the fringe. They do not appear interested in the game nor are they happily absorbed in their own affairs. They are a kind of blight which destroys the sense of buoyancy in the group. Play leaders may blame them for a supercilious attitude or for wilful perversity. "They won't play and they won't let anyone else play." But these individuals who are incapable of team-play, and whose malady takes the form now of bashfulness, shrinking, depression, envy, jealousy and self pity; again of showing off, boastfulness, aggression, critical scorn of the achievements of others, belittling the value of the players and the game itself, interference, occasional exhibitionism—they should not be blamed. They are, it is true, a terrific nuisance, but they are almost heroically unhappy. The basic difficulty is their feeling of inferiority.

If the average mother who is taking a course in child study is asked to observe a group of children, not her own, on the playground or nursery school, she is struck by some youngster who is "impossible." He appears "frozen," he does not respond to efforts to help him. She recognizes that he is a "problem" and her remedy will differ with circumstances and the state of her knowledge. If he is "naughty" and cruel to the others, perhaps she will feel he needs a spanking; if he is "shy" he needs "drawing out."

What the average mother does not see is that the family of the child, not the child, needs treatment. There are many causes of the "inferiority complex." One of these is the growing up of a grudge in the child who feels that his parents prefer some other child. It is humanly impossible to feel the same emotional response to two children. However, a parent can show a like amount of respect for varying personalities, and can cultivate an objective appreciation for the activities and achievements of a child for whom no congeniality is felt.

A wise mother found herself confronted with a daughter whose chief happiness was in collecting, skinning, dissecting and bottling all sorts of creatures; and in hammering, nailing and building. The mother was dainty and fond of social activities. In youth she had been hampered by parents who preferred boys. She made a resolution that if she had a daughter she would be given opportunity to follow her own bent. When the daughter arrived, the mother was amazed at the bugs and the nails; but she played the game and her child became a scientist.

Many children suffer from a feeling of inferiority because they have never learned to play. They do not know how to act because their parents have never played with them nor encouraged play. It is wise to direct the attention of such children to the *activity* in hand, to drain it off from the *feel* of self. In order to do this the child must know the security which comes from living in a family where his interests and accomplishments are noticed and given opportunity for expression.

A parent is bad who builds up in the child a feeling of inferiority.

17. Erma and John had an exaggerated recoil from pain and difficulty. They could not bear the sight of suffering in others. Physically they were brave enough but they were both moral cowards. It came out in all sorts of unexpected ways. John was a lovable boy. Anything could be forgiven him but he was always making excuses, telling little lies so as not to hurt people's feelings. He got tired of a job, and instead of saying he was going to quit, sent himself a telegram stating that his mother was dangerously sick. He did not wish anyone on earth to think ill of him, or of themselves. Naturally, only his verbal behavior could stand the strain of such a program; his legs might be late at an appointment but his tongue never admitted *he* was late. He was well on the road to building up a lifelong habit of indirection and evasion when he stopped suddenly, became outspoken and almost broke his parents hearts.

Erma was younger. She did not tell lies but she was more readily taken in by the lies of others. She was extremely sympathetic, attuned to suffering as some delicate instrument that caught the least vibration of grief. In every relation of life she was more unhappy than happy; she had a creative relation to tragedy that could spin it out of gossamer threads. It was not that Erma indulged in the vice of self-pity, but she was chiefly devoted to misery.

There were other contributing factors, but the glaring cause was the fact that the mother herself had an inferiority complex. She was in constant need of assurance that she was loved, looked well, cooked, talked, danced, played cards, "managed" well, yet buoyed up as she was by the efforts of her husband and children she was constantly in danger of sinking into the pit of despair. A subtle air of deprecation hung over everything she did and kept her children filled with anxiety.

A parent is bad who permits the family atmosphere to become infected with his (or her) inferiority complex.

18. *A parent is bad who in an attempt to inculcate habits of obedience succeeds merely in creating rebellion.*

Sometimes this is due to faulty technique, but more often to aggression and unwise interference with harmless activities. Such parents undertake to manage their children. The word *manage* is an ancient one having to do with the government of a horse. The child subjected to such treatment may not bear the marks of bit, bridle, saddle, spur, or whip, but may nevertheless find it impossible to take his place in the modern world which demands, not so much submission, as participation.

Each person, as Havelock Ellis puts it, has a part to play in the creation of the modern world; hence, unsophisticated parents are bad; parents who do not know there is a modern world.

19. *A parent is bad who will not let a child grow up; who does all the talking, makes all the decisions and meets all the issues.*

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An Adventure in Play

By IRENE MOTT

Awarded First Prize in the Harmon-Survey Quarterly Award
On the Use of Leisure

MY first clue came from a deputation of the women themselves. I had been sorely puzzled over the problem of the health education of a low caste Indian village: school attendance had diminished, lectures were unattended, even the community interest in baby shows lagged unless all participants were given an adequate reward for coming. Then a group of women came to me.

"Sister," they said, "we don't want education. What good will books do us? When our daughters grow up they must go out and work in the fields. If we start to learn and then have to stop, the books rise and curse us. Give us instead *pan suparis.*"

Now a *pan supari* is a social gathering which centers around the chewing of betel nut and at which there is usually music, story-telling, or some other form of entertainment. When I shut my eyes and think of a *pan supari* I see festoons of mango leaves, wreaths of jasmine and rose petals, brass bowls gleaming and piled high with rice or coconuts, and above all a great noise of shouting, singing, and strange musical instruments. This I compared to the enforced order in our school buildings, and laughed. But I went home to think it over.

The women in their primitive way had struck at the root of the problem. In spite of all one hears of the lazy life of the tropics, the daily routine of an Indian village woman is anything but idle. She must rise in the gray dawn and bring water from the well, and grind wheat into flour in the hand-mill, and mash the spices into currie between two stones in time to cook her husband's breakfast before the cotton mills open at six o'clock. That finished, there is more water to fetch, rice to be beaten free from husks with a heavy polished stick, the baby to bathe, or cowdung to be gathered for a fresh fuel supply. Or perhaps the mud hut needs repairing—it is certain to need cleaning—and the brass cooking pots must be scoured with sand. If the wheat supply has run out, the bazaar is three miles from home across the hot fields. In addition to all this she may be expected to supplement the family income by coolie work.

No, her life was not one of amusement. Still, she was greatly in need of the simple principles of cleanliness and hygiene we were endeavoring to teach her in the school. If only I could make her education her recreation and vice versa! Books, I had been convinced for some time, were useless at the present stage of her development. Even if she should learn to read, she would be too poor for years to come to possess any books of her own, and her reading material would be limited to chance hand-bills and lurid cinema advertisements.

Sewing she needed only for mending purposes, as her clothing consists in a piece of cloth draped to fit. I remembered the remark of one woman when urged to come to a sewing class.

"Sister, I can't see and the old woman [the mother-in-law] is too old to learn. We will come and listen to stories."

So stories I produced, and as long as the stories held out the women came. But both had dwindled until I considered that class also a failure.

For the younger girls we had organized Girl Scouts, adapted and changed until their main achievment was the teaching of health principles. But for the older women the problem was more difficult and I was hesitant over attempting anything so radical when the women themselves gave me another clue.

In desperation I had offered prizes in three villages to any women who would attend ten hygiene talks and could answer certain reasonable questions at the end. The prizes offered were lavish for I expected the customary wane in the attendance. And the decrease had begun as anticipated: fifty dwindled to thirty, and thirty to fifteen when chance intervened and saved the day.

Hindu children playing games their mothers wished to participate in themselves

A group of Girl Scouts were accustomed to meet in one school building before the women's lecture began. Upon this particular day there had been tradiness and the women assembled in time to see the girls playing their last game, a singing one they were very fond of in which they acted out the day's activities plentifully interspersed with the habits necessary to health: deep breathing, tooth-brushing, hand-washing and so forth. The older women looked on and were surprisingly delighted. They beat time with their hands and feet; they sang the chorus; they laughed unrestrainedly, a thing I had seldom seen. Then they came to me.

"Sister," said they, "let us play games when our lecture is over and we will always come."

I was amazed. Here were full grown women, and the Indian girl

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is not supposed to run and jump after she is nine or ten years old because her husband considers it unseemly. But our school building was private and he need never know.

"Certainly," I said, "we will commence with a game today; why not show me one of your own?"

So they played a game, a strange relic from old tribal dances, designed upon the principle of an endurance test. The women paired off, one clinging between the knees of another. The pairs jumped to a strange rhythmic music and collided with each other. Any pair which tumbled over or stopped the continuous jumping from fatigue was eliminated and the pair remaining at the end carried off the victory. After that I taught them a game from the West. Blind Man's Buff, perhaps, or Three Deep. From that day the success of the class was assured and the fifteen members came in almost perfect attendance. I dared not try the same experiment in the two remaining villages because the funds at my disposal would have been inadequate for the prizes. As it was, jam had to eliminated from my next month's budget because so many of the fifteen passed the examination at the end!

Below: the native mother as she appeared in the health drama, taking very realistically with dishevelled hair and soiled clothing the role of the bad woman while at right she is shown as she is in life—tidy and neat

The games filled a very real need in the lives of drudgery and hardship the women lead, and while furnishing the incentive for attendance gave rhythmical exercise and recreation in the truest sense. But I was deligted and surprised to see their influence in other lines toward the type of community education for which I longed. One of our most baffling problems had been that of caste intolerance. All of the women in this village came from very low castes and I had learned from sad experience that the lower the caste the more finely drawn and rigidly adhered to are the differences between them. If a midwife, who comes from one of the lowest castes of all, happened into a school building she was exiled into a distant corner by the other women. Or, if the meeting was a scene of merrymaking and food was to be eaten, she was not allowed to come within the building at all. But the spirit of play and of festivity did away with this for the time being and the different castes forgot themselves and played together, learning tolerance as a by-product. The little leisure which the village woman possesses is usually spent in quarrel and intrigue, and personal quarrels as well as caste differences began to be swallowed up, at least during the weekly hours spent in playing games together.

After this we proceeded to a more daring exploit, a health drama, acted by the women who had been listening to our talks on baby care and general hygiene. A very simple plot was chosen: that of a good family and a bad family who lived side by side with all the lurid details of the consequences which followed hard upon sanitary and unsanitary methods of living left entirely unexpurgated. Everyone enjoyed this, the participants as well as the general village public who looked on, made remarks, and asked questions. In the end we took photographs which we made up into lantern slides that the play's influence might extend farther. To my great delight the woman who had most realistically acted the part of the bad woman with dishevelled hair and soiled clothing came to me to say:

"The people who see those pictures will think I am a dirty woman. Take my picture when I am clean and neatly dressed and say at the end of the pictures: 'This is the way she looks when she is not acting.' "

So the purpose of the drama had penetrated even deeper than I had dared to hope, and one woman at least had been awakened through the fun to a sense of pride in her cleanliness.

From this point we have great hopes of the future development of our simple plans of education. If through the right kind of recreation we can develop the personal resources of these women to enable them to make better use of their leisure time, if we can get under their hopelessly resigned attitude which has been brought about by a life of drudgery and give them a sense of responsibility toward the cleanliness and beauty of their homes and village, and with it all give them a large splash of enjoyment by the way—our method of education will have been found and there remains but the working out of it. If social groups will meet and discuss what can be done about the common problem of the fly, the rat and the mosquito, let them have their *pan supari* and festivity; the health of the village will be noticeably improved. Game principles seem to be the same the world over and I know of no better method for bridging the gulfs created by language and by nationality, by ignorance, caste, prejudice or intolerance.

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Drawing by Robert Hallowell

—*after reading 32,000 r. p. m.*

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32,000 R. P. M.

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

WE had come to the end of our tour of the factory: a brick, steel and many-windowed building; a machine shop; a thoroughly American industrial establishment. I ask the reader to stop at this point, and before reading the next sentence examine the pictures which these terms—machine shop, American industrial establishment—have evoked in his mind. Some months ago I tried the experiment on the editor of an important European newspaper who had come from Geneva to study American industrial methods. His response ran true to the anticipated stereotyped pattern. He saw vast arrays of high-speed automatic machines, tended by men and women performing endlessly repetitive operations, turning out cheap goods at high wages—automatic machines, human automata, mass production. Our most sensationally advertised factories correspond to that pattern.

Well, in this particular factory I had seen only two relatively unimportant automatic machines, turning out brass screws of certain not generally standardized dimensions. Most of the parts were being tooled to a minimum accuracy of one one-thousandth of an inch by workmen who while they worked explained their rôle in the completed apparatus. At the end of our tour we came to men who were tooling parts beyond an accuracy of one ten-thousandth of an inch, an accuracy so near absolute eveness that its imperfections eluded standard measuring instruments and could be detected only by fingers of rare tactile delicacy. While I tried to formulate an intelligent question as to the possible need of such superlative workmanship, a man at the bench placed in my hand a cylindrical piece of metal four or five inches long, possibly a quarter of an inch in diameter. After three minutes or thereabouts, he told me that my blood heat had raised ripples of a dimension which if rigidly present when the rod was put in place might destroy the scientific worth of the instrument—an octagonal rotor with eight mirrored faces designed to enable a university physicist to test the Einstein theory under laboratory conditions. An essential requirement was that these eight mirrors should whirl at a constant and uniform speed of 32,000 revolutions per minute.

The thing fascinated me as it obviously thrilled the men who had made it. But our excitements came from different directions. They felt the triumph of their technical arts in the service of scientific exploration. I saw a cue to the *esprit de corps* I had felt in the shops, to the labor policy of the management, to the methods and practices of the personnel department, to the existence of the Industrial Association, which in 1920 the employes themselves had initiated in a factory that a few years before had been largely under trade-union control.

When that rotor, with its eight mirrored faces made to deflect light as they pursued one another at a speed of 32,000 R.P.M., was put to its factory test, all the mechanics and engineers who had taken part in its making came together to see their finished work. At that moment, they were with Einstein and Michelson following light into the secrets of space; they felt themselves members of the great scientific confraternity; the sense of cumulative mastery over the forces of nature—that sense of man's capacity to control his environment and so to liberate his creative faculties for the shaping of a civilized life—cast glamor about every machine in the shop and touched every process, every workman with dignity.

I SAY "at the moment" advisedly, because in the best of industrial establishments the sustained enthusiasm which characterizes the research and engineering staffs, especially where as in this instance the factory is devoted to the production of instruments whose invention and evolutionary development are integral to the widening stream of general scientific knowledge, does not carry over to the wage-earning, hired-and-fired mechanical force. The technical men know that they belong to the scientific confraternity and are able to gauge their worth and their security accordingly. The wage-earners, who like their machines are still generally regarded by the technical men, the "brains of the plant," as tools—tools requiring special consideration, to be sure, human tools, yet tools—do not belong. At moments, as when this rotor was tested, they are invited to sit in, but they sit in by suffrance.

More exciting to me than these ingenious instruments and the evolutionary vistas they opened was the discovery that the demands they were making upon their makers, as conditions of dependable performance, were leading the management to apply at least the first crude elements of a scientific technique to the behavior and control of the human beings in the working force, and to the conditions of their effective association. The machine which man discovered and which threatened to brutalize him, is discovering man to himself.

The scientific spirit, the high inspiration of the technical men, has hardly been permitted to enter the realm of industrial relations. Most wage-workers, however great their craft skill, live in a world of uncertainties, in an atmosphere gusty with suspicions, vaguely defined forces of conflict, resentments and benevolent desires, victims of the refractory superstition that the behavior of "human nature," unlike the behavior of chemical elements, is not susceptible of precise observation and record, orderly analysis, inductive statement, experimental and reasoned control. As a result of this almost universal failure of management to deal with human nature in a dispassionately scientific spirit, much of the most precious of all commodities, the latent emotional

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power of the wage-working group, is wasted. Of all industrial wastes that is the greatest.

HOW often in discussing legislative reform, or educational method, or the conduct of men in political or industrial government, the latest municipal scandal, or the local sensation that holds the stick-whittling gossips buzzing for hours in the village post office, has one not heard the wiseacres say, "Human nature is always the same; you can't change human nature." And then of a specific instance, "You can never tell what people will do; they never act twice the same; human nature is beyond understanding; it's different with folks from what it is with machines."

How different? And what pains have we taken to find out?

The major product of the Sperry Gyroscope Company is the gyro-compass, "an accurate, scientific instrument which gives a means of indicating the true north without the errors of variation and deviation to which the magnetic compass is subject." I ask one of the engineers to explain to me by what methods, by means of what devices, by the application of what principles this result is accomplished. And he begins: "Contrary to impressions felt by many people unfamiliar with the gyroscope phenomena, the behavior of a spinning wheel is not mysterious, but is only the manifestation of well known laws."

What keeps the spinning top on its toe, the moving bicycle in balance? Roll a round flat stone down a hill and watch how the centrifugal force introduced by its motion balances the force of gravity so that instead of falling over as it does when left to stand still, it rolls upright and uprighter the faster it rolls. We have all seen the gyroscopic principle at work. Yet for how many hundreds of thousands of years did men watch rolling stones before they became aware that a law was manifesting itself? that a principle was involved? that the strange action of the stones in refusing to fall as they rolled was not due to a demon, or spirit, or soul that had entered them under penalty or for joy of the ride?

All absorbed in his technical subject, the engineer goes on to explain that the invention of the gyroscope as a scientific instrument is lost in the shadows of the eighteenth century, that it emerges into the record with Bohenberger's "composition of the rotation of the gyroscope" in 1817, with the experiments of Leon Foucault who first called a freely spun rotating wheel a "gyroscope" because "its operations depend upon the rotation of the earth and are but varied manifestations of such rotation," and how it was Foucault who in 1852 first demonstrated that a gyroscope freely suspended will point in one direction—true north, for example—so long as the rotation lasts. Thus he started investigators on the trail of the gyroscopic compass.

The behavior of the spinning wheel is not mysterious, but is only the manifestation of well known laws! Yes, after hundreds of thousands of years of unsystematic observation, more than a hundred years of laboratory experimentation, recording, conference, discussion, analysis, piece-meal induction, and theoretical revision, the laws begin to be well known. Yet hundreds of men in laboratories throughout the world, are devoting their keenest intelligence to the more perfect application of these laws to a single instrument. Every detail in the experimental evolution of that instrument, in the laboratory and on the ships of the great navies of the world, is on record. Eighteenth century, 1817, 1852, 1878, 1911—these are memorable dates in the minds of the engineers having to do with the gyroscopic compass. And why shouldn't they be? This compass that knows true north and of itself, automatically, keeps ships to their course is somehow integral to the mind of man, a functioning part of his creative genius. Fundamentally, therefore, its behavior is no less mysterious than the behavior of man; is indeed, only a specifically conditioned extension of his behavior.

Rigorous exactions of the machines are compelling men to regard one another in the light of the same objectively scientific attitude to whose creative effectiveness the machines bear insistent testimony. They are cutting across the old habit patterns, battering down old stereotyped ideas, evoking a new mind.

But we have hardly begun to accord to human behavior the kind of sustained observation, painstaking analysis, and synthetic description that systematically applied to the gyroscope for more than one hundred years has brought into tangible being not only the gyro-compass, but also the gyro-stabilizer for ships, the "automatic airplane pilot," and such highly individualized instruments as the mirrored rotor that catches, breaks and flashes back shafts of light as it spins at a uniform speed of 32,000 R.P.M. More exciting to me than these ingenious instruments and the evolutionary vistas they opened was the discovery that the demands they were making upon their makers, as conditions of dependable performance, were leading the management to apply at least the first crude elements of a scientific technique to the behavior of the human beings in the working force, and to the conditions of their effective association. The machine which man discovered and which threatened to brutalize him, is discovering man to himself.

OURS is an industrial civilization, fundamentally a machine-conditioned civilization. The form and character of our social and political institutions are increasingly destined to be determined by the tools we use in getting a living, by our relationship, whether of mastery or of fatalistic servitude, to the machine upon whose operation our economic security rests. It takes no special gift of prophecy to see that the political arrangements that prove to be functionally effective in industry will in due course prevail in the government of cities and states, for the common law—the *mores,* the folkways—upon which the authority of states rests, is but the generalized expression of the experience of the effective members of the community. It is not in the atrophied village, or the peripheral agricultural community, the chaotic metropolis, or even the legislative centers where men predominate whose minds are held in the stereotyped patterns of yesterday's institutionalized folkways that the vital germ of tomorrow's government can best be observed. The dynamic experiments upon whose outcome tomorrow's social and economic arrangements depend are going forward in mechanized industry. For the precise exactions of the machines are compelling men to regard one another in the light of the

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same objectively scientific attitude to whose creative effectiveness the machines bear insistent testimony. They are cutting across old habit patterns, battering down old stereotyped ideas, evoking a new mind. I am disposed to stress this insufficiently observed effect of the machine upon individual and group behavior because it is the key to the social appraisal of welfare and personnel work, scientific management, company unionism, union-management cooperation, and all similar developments which are reconstructing the foundations not of industrial government only but of all government.

THE moment one turns from the history of the product to the analysis of human relationships in such an establishment as the Sperry Gyroscope factory one finds oneself in a prescientific world. As I have indicated, every detail in the evolutionary history of the gyroscopic principle as applied in the gyroscopic compass and similar instruments, is matter of precise record and has been incorporated in the general body of scientific knowledge. Certain specific applications of the principle are, to be sure, covered by patents which limit their commercial production and sale, but patents do not bar new knowledge of the principles themselves from the currency of thinking men. It is probable that men like Mr. Sperry take greater delight in their contributions to knowledge than in commercial success and that for them the acquisition of wealth is primarily of importance because it frees them for further research. Nothing that was said to me by the engineers and workmen on that day of my first tour of the plant expressed such pride as the fact that they were making the eight-mirrored rotor, not to conquer a new sales market, but to enable Professor Michelson, "a friend of Mr. Sperry's" to apply the Einstein theory of relativity in remeasuring the speed of light. In the field of physical research and mechanical control, men have developed such complete faith in the constructive results of the free experimental application of the scientific procedure that they follow it fearlessly and with confident enthusiasm.

Certain members of the Sperry management gave thought to the fact that when a gyroscope compass fails to perform as a compass it is not "fired" but studied until the difficulty is understood and corrected. They decided to approach the resistence of the men in the same spirit.

When it comes to the history of personnel realtionships and the evolution of the present form of industrial government in the Sperry factory the records are at best fragmentary and not as yet organized like those in the technical research laboratory. They still bear a closer resemblance to the case records of family relief societies than to those of the biologist or electrochemist. They are used primarily for immediate administrative purposes and very little for long range scientific induction. This is not said in indictment of the Sperry management. The situation here is typical of that in most industrial establishments. It arises from the fact that the science of human behavior is still embryonic, that it has not been developed beyond a point at a level with that at which the science of mechanical production had arrived before Frederick W. Taylor began the experiments which resulted in what is universally known as the Taylor system of scientific management.

Executives are still largely preoccupied with the distortions of the individual personality under pressure of the machine and have hardly begun to consider the organic interplay of individual and group responses to the machine. Taylor's work was done before the birth of behavioristic psychology in the broader contemporaneous sense. Men still looked at human behavior, as for the most part they still do, through a cloud of mystery. Taylor did recognize, according to Copley, his biographer, that "all other industrial problems are swallowed up in the problem of industrial relations." But his major preoccupation was with the perfection and efficient utilization of machines and the discipline and control of men in obedience to this conception of efficiency. The brilliant initial success of his work lead men like Professor John Maurice Clark to raise the question as to whether we ought not to reverse the classic economic axiom which says that capital, including machinery, consists of instruments utilized by human beings for the production of wealth, in favor of the mechanical engineer's apparent conviction that human beings are instruments utilized by machines for the machines' increase and biological development.

But, to quote Taylor's biographer again, "when a start is made with scientific management, it is in the natural or logical order that mechanical conditions be looked into first, since it is obvious that what labor can do all depends on the nature and condition of its implements." Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to limit the application of the scientific method of analysis, induction and synthesis to the mechanical conditions, due to a foreshortening of perspective which keeps the machine so completely at the focus of observation that observers fail to see that the machine is but an extension of man's manual equipment and that its behavior is similarly a specifically conditioned extension of human behavior. This fact is only beginning to receive recognition. For example, Albert Whitney, who as chairman of the National Workmen's Compensation Service Bureau of the associated liability insurance companies, has had general supervision of the companies' safety work, tells me that their experience is demonstrating that the most important consideration in the reduction of accidents is not the provision of further mechanical safeguards but what he calls the human element—the mental attitude of management and men toward safety and the conservation of life. His leading problem is no longer that of mechanical invention but that of group psychology and education. Thus, as I already suggested, the machine which men discovered is, as a condition of its dependable behavior, compelling men to shift the focus of their attention from itself to the behavior of men, and the conditions of their effective association.

THE history of industrial relations in the Sperry gyroscope factory as based upon incomplete records pieced together from fragmentary interviews intermittently carried on over a period of two years and principally with men in charge of the personnel and production departments, bears a striking resemblance to that in the Midvale steel plant during Taylor's time, and in its later chapters shows marked signs of Taylor's influence. The business was

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founded by Elmer A. Sperry, who is characterized by his professional associates as one of our "great pioneers in the application of electricity to transportation, mining and other machinery, ship navigation and searchlights. He was one of the founders of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and the American Electrochemical Society, and was chairman of the committee that called the first meeting of the National Electric Light Association. During the war he served on the Naval Consulting Board. He is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the Naval Architects and Marine Engineers and other semi-technical organizations. The work that has brought him greatest fame is the commercial application of the gyroscope." One gathers from the men who have worked with him that his scientific predominate over his business interests, although he has always made commercial success a major test of the worth of his discoveries.

He began the commercial production of the gyroscopic compass and ship stabilizer when these instruments were still in a semi-experimental stage of development, so that his factory was originally as much a research labortory as a manufacturing establishment. It was as important to him that his factory manager and departmental foremen should act as his personal aides as it was that his research assistants should have an intimate understanding of his ideas and objectives. As he was his own laboratory director, so he was also his own factory superintendent, since under the conditions the two things were inseparable. Similarly, because of the novel and technically special character of the instruments he was manufacturing, Mr. Sperry acted as his own salesman, since a condition of sales was that prospective clients—naval engineers and especially members of the technical staff of the United States Navy—must be convinced that his gyro-compass was a practical aid to navigation and not merely another seven-days wonder. For the gyroscope was, if possible, in worse repute than the heavier-than-air flying machine in the days of Langley's abortive flight into the Potomac.

The result was that the factory organization was built up after the model of the domestic industries of an earlier period, or rather it grew about the inventor-manufacturer as a sort of *pater familias*. The system of accounts was of the simplest. There was no cost accounting in our contemporary sense. There was no centralized system of planning and production control, except in so far as Mr. Sperry was himself the center of operations. When he brought in an order, he took up the problem of its execution with his chief of staff, who in turn took up sections of the problem with his foremen, who in turn took up segments of sections with the men at the benches or machines, all of whom were craft specialists and as such were accorded wide freedom in devising what they thought the best ways of doing their work.

Just as there was no centralized system of planning and production control, so there was no system for gathering into a central pool the special skill, the expert knowledge of the best ways of making the parts of the instrument assigned to individual workmen. Each man treasured this knowledge in his own head. So long as the factory was small and Mr. Sperry or his chief of staff could maintain intimate relations with each of the workmen, this method served well enough. It is the ideal method for a research laboratory where men are emotionally united by a common and cooperative scientific interest, though even here subordinates are often reluctant to surrender a patentable find or to forego individual credit for a major discovery.

In a commercial enterprise, however, where scientific and profit motives are interwoven, the conflict of economic interest between the owners and the wage-earners is likely to become acute in direct proportion to the success of the business. Foremen and the individual workmen, especially, develop the conviction that they have a vested interest in their special craft skill, in the disposal of which they apply the accepted ethics implicitly in the "law of supply and demand." Family sentiment becomes clouded by the sentiment of individual acquisitiveness. Possessors of special skill come to feel themselves indispensable and, like good business men similarly circumstanced, give as little of their precious commodity for as much as the traffic will bear, often indeed, where there is no system of open cost accounting to enlighten them, more than the traffic can bear. This leads to what Taylor denounced as "systematic soldiering," what Veblen in his more inclusive analysis of business enterprise characterized as "business sabotage." Where the management, eager to make sales and without exact cost data upon which to figure sales prices, takes orders at too narrow a margin of profit, it puts itself under the necessity of crowding the men for more work at lower wages. Politics, in the invidious sense of that term, creeps in between superintendent and foremen, between foremen and wage-earners—individual bargaining, favoritism, the use of "pull" and "influence," the organization within the plant of personal cliques. The evolution of industrial government up to this point parallels the evolution of municipal government; beyond this point, as we shall see, it has outstripped municipal government in the application of a scientific technique to the problem of effective organization and control.

When the rotor with its eight mirrowed faces made to deflect light as they pursued one another at the speed of 32,000 revolutions per minute was put to its factory test, all the mechanics and engineers who had taken part in its making came together to see their finished work. At that moment, they were with Einstein and Michelson following light into the secrets of space; they felt themselves members of the great scientific confraternity; the sense of cumulative mastery over the forces of nature—that sense of man's capacity to control his environment and so to liberate his creative faculties for the shaping of a civilized life—cast glamor about every machine in the shop and touched every process, every workman with dignity.

Roughly speaking, the Sperry factory organization had reached about this point when our entrance into the War greatly increased the demands upon it, so that the numbers on its payroll rose from approximately four hundred to about two thousand. This inrush of outsiders put an impossible strain upon the family spirit. The men who had acquired

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special skill in the making of parts of the factory's principal product, the gyroscopic compass, were not too patriotically disposed to make their skill common property, any more than munitions manufacturers were disposed to surrender their patents or to do war work without war profit. This is the more readily understood when it is known that as late as 1915, all men in the plant worked on a weekly basis and that their average weekly income, lumping janitors and chore boys with skilled mechanics, was $15.40.

EVEN had they been dispoesd to share their skill it is doubtful whether they would have been able to combine with intensified production, the teaching of hundreds of green hands. And in those days of the one-man family tradition, the Sperry management, like most other American managements, had not developed the over-all system of supervision and instruction which is to-day one of its most useful instruments. It was inevitable that the superintendent and foremen should resort to driving, to pressure, not upon the over-all organization which was then non-existent, but upon individuals. That the management had been able to win the loyalty of its employes to an unusual degree is indicated by the fact that this driving policy did not result in a general strike. The family hung together. In spite of the fact that, because of its exceptionallly good equipment, the factory was called upon to manufacture munitions outside its customary lines, it not only increased volume and range of output, but maintained quality to a notable degree.

Moreover, its major product, the gyrocompass, afforded special advantages which our navy owed to the inventive genius of Mr. Sperry. But the experience of war years showed that the traditional form of loose family organization carried over from the age of all 'round craftsmanship, was ill adapted to the best use of modern specialized machine equipment. In a plant manufacturing instruments whose value depended upon high accuracy, where workmen were segregated to individual parts, a single inaccurately made part at the hands of a single awkward workman was often fatal to the whole product. When apparatus was assembled under the eyes of the plant engineers, individual inaccuracies could be corrected with reasonable ease. But when parts were shipped overseas for assemly thousands of miles from the shop, such inaccuracies were often beyond correction. It will be remembered that to coordinate our naval operations with those of the Allies, our naval base was established in London under Admiral Sims. The Sperry gyrocompass had become a chief dependence of the navy in laying the cordon of mines across the North Sea and in similar delicate operations. The importance which Admiral Sims attached to this instrument is indicated by the fact that he cooperated with the Sperry management by suggesting one of his own subordinates, a naval engineer who had had sea-going experience with the gyrocompass, to help in transforming the family works organization along what are commonly known as scientific management lines. Thus as a condition of dependable behavior the machines which the factory produced lead to the application of the scientific technique to the behavior of men.

To those having a peculiar interest in the history and constructive future of organized labor, the relation of the trade unions to this development is significant. In spite of the friendly attitude between management and men which under Mr. Sperry's guidance the family arrangement developed, both management and men recognize that the trade unions laid the rock bottom foundations even of this family structure. Through them wage-rates were standardized at or near a cost-of-living level, they determined prevailing wage rates in the market and so tended to equalize competitive conditions. The backbone of the skilled groups in the Sperry factory belonged to the craft unions. The management was not actively opposed to the unions, but neither would it enter into overt agreements with them. Thus it held them to their traditionally defensive position as protectors of the living standards not only of their own members, but also of the entire working force. It failed to see in them, as President Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio, and President Thornton of the Canadian National see, a superlative instrument for the organization of skill with reference to the improvement, in cooperation with management, of the over-all productive process. Neither had organized labor adopted its present official policy of cooperation in promoting efficient production as its best means of advancing not only the prevailing standard of living, but also labor's industrial status. When Admiral Sims' designee reached the Sperry factory, he found a committee of trade union shop stewards handling grievances, although the unions were not "recognized." Trade union business agents had free access to the plant. Under the government's labor policy, the national union officers had the ear of the labor adjustment boards of the Army and Navy. In spite of their almost exclusive concern with the business interests of their own members, the pressure of the unions was a stabilizing force in the midst of a turbulent situation. But principally because they had always been debarred from participation in the consideration of managerial problems,—problems of efficient plant organization and production—they maintained a negative attitude toward the management's imperative need of reorganizing the production process in conformity with the demands of the factory's product.

The new management initially attempted to carry the trade unionists along in the development of an over-all production organization, without, however, inviting the unions as such to cooperate. Neither were the unions prepared to ask recognition on the union-management cooperative basis. Partly because the management failed to recognize them, but also in large part because of their own defensive tradition, they permitted the opportunity to initiate cooperative relationships to slip by. Today, with the exception of the moulders, the workers in the Sperry factory handle their grievances, not through trade union representatives, but through their representatives in the Sperry Industrial Association, an over-all plant organization, pivoted on the production process.

AS will presently appear, this transformation in industrial relations was a direct response to the demands of the machine, a condition of whose dependable behavior is that man-power must function in conformity with the same orderly laws as those which men have incorporated in the machines themselves.

The history here is analogous to the history of scientific management as developed by Taylor and is indeed a direct supplement of that history. The salient impression of my first tour of the Sperry factory, as I began by saying, was

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that the present form of industrial organization had been determined by scientifically disciplined engineers with prime reference to the demands of the factory's product, delicate instruments of precision, as conditions of their dependable behavior, and that it was these demands that were leading the management to extend the technique of scientific analysis beyond the behavior of the instruments to the behavior of the human beings in the working force.

In commenting upon my summary study of the company union in the West Lynn plant of the General Electric Company [Survey Graphic for April, 1926], a leading trade union official, by way of encouraging me to go deeper into the subject, observed that the unions had hitherto "kept one suit of clothes for all situations," that they were increasingly finding that the suit did not fit, that something had happened on the inside of industry of which they had failed to take account. What that something is we shall, I am persuaded, never discover so long as we permit our objectivity to be muddled by the imputation of sinister motives to management. That there is a conflict of economic interest between the wage-workers and the owners of property devoted to profit may be taken for granted; that this conflict, like the rivalry among nations, has traditionally followed the precedents of tribal warfare is manifest; that "jungle-mindedness" still widely pervades the atmosphere of industrial relations most observers will grant. There are employers and employers' associations that are for "war to the finish" on trade unions; there are wage-working groups for whom a condition precedent to all social progress is the overthrow of "capitalism" and the wiping out of all "capitalistic exploiters." At the same time, only the deliberately blind can fail to see that the most hopeful fact in American industrial relations is the increasing zeal on the part of both employers and wage-earners to find an intelligent way of resolving conflict without the wastes of primitive warfare. They are finding in the creative process itself the field of their common interests.

Conflict is the condition of all progress for the individual and the group, but we are beginning to see that its creative resolution depends not upon the imposition of the power of one over another, not even upon a mere balance of power, but upon a fusion of ideas directed to the attainment of common ends. This accounts for the emphasis upon "cooperation" in the most successful company unions as well as in the newly formulated policy of the American Federation of Labor. And in both caess the germinal and dynamic idea, whether or not those who are being moved by it are clearly aware of its character, has evolved in response to the demands of the machines, whose behavior, since it is only a specifically conditioned extension of human behavior, inevitably reflects the state of harmonious adjustment or friction, engendering maladjustment in the working force.

Observers fail to see that the machine is but an extension of man's manual equipment and that its behavior is similarly a specifically conditioned extension of human behavior. This fact is only beginning to receive recognition.

IT was when deliveries to the Navy became unsatisfactory, when the behavior of the instruments became undependable, that Admiral Sims' designee was appointed vice-president and general manager of the Sperry plant. The details of his procedure in the reorganization of industrial relations are, unfortunately, not recorded. On three or four major points, however, men who were at the time and are still in the factory are agreed. It was obvious that the traditional craft organization was ill adapted to the free allocation of men to the specialized operations into which the specialized instruments to be produced demanded that the work should be divided. Within the term machinist, for example, may be included scores of specialized crafts, such as bench lathe operators, engine lathe operators, milling machine operators, tool makers. Indeed, many operations may be peculiar to a single establishment. Men who have mastered special processes are not only chary of imparting their skill to newcomers, especially if they have invested time and labor in building up a protective union and the newcomers have not, but are also jealous of the allocation of work to others which they believe properly belongs to them. Where the knowledge of the best way to perform each of these operations is stored in the memory of the individual workman, each of these special craft lines is likely to rise as a barrier to the free flow of production.

One of the first steps of the new manager was an attempt to overcome the waste resulting from these breaks in the production circuit by appealing to the men to merge their craft and sub-craft divisions into an over-all plant organization based upon departmental divisions. Members of the craft unions, if not in the actual majority, were nevertheless dominant. The labor administration of the Navy was sympathetic to the unions and followed the policies laid down by the War Labor Board. The new manager hired the hall in Brooklyn where the unions were accustomed to meet and called a meeting of the Sperry employes at which he proposed the setting up of a works' council. The proposal was unanimously rejected by the approximately 45 per cent of the employes who attended the meeting. The manager then tried to reach his objective by stimulating the organization of the Sperry Club, which achieved two dances, one conducted by the "roughnecks" to the displeasure of the "white collar" contingent, the second by the "class," but avoided by the "roughnecks."

I have stumbled upon a memorandum of a committee meeting held by the manager with the shop stewards at about this time, in which the divergent points-of-view of the union leaders and the manager are noted. Said the chairman of the shop stewards: "There have been complaints that time is lost during working hours. This cannot be helped because many pamphlets are being passed about the shop during working hours boosting this Sperry Club. I am opposed to it and most of the people with whom I have spoken are opposed to it. If we were paid enough to carry us over from week to week and also to enable us to save two or three dollars a week, we would not find it necessary to belong to any organization. Contracts should be made to provide for increases in wages."

Said the manager: "It is not purely a question of mutual aid. It is a question of *getting together as a whole* and this can best be done by getting together according to departments.

(*Continued on page* 473)

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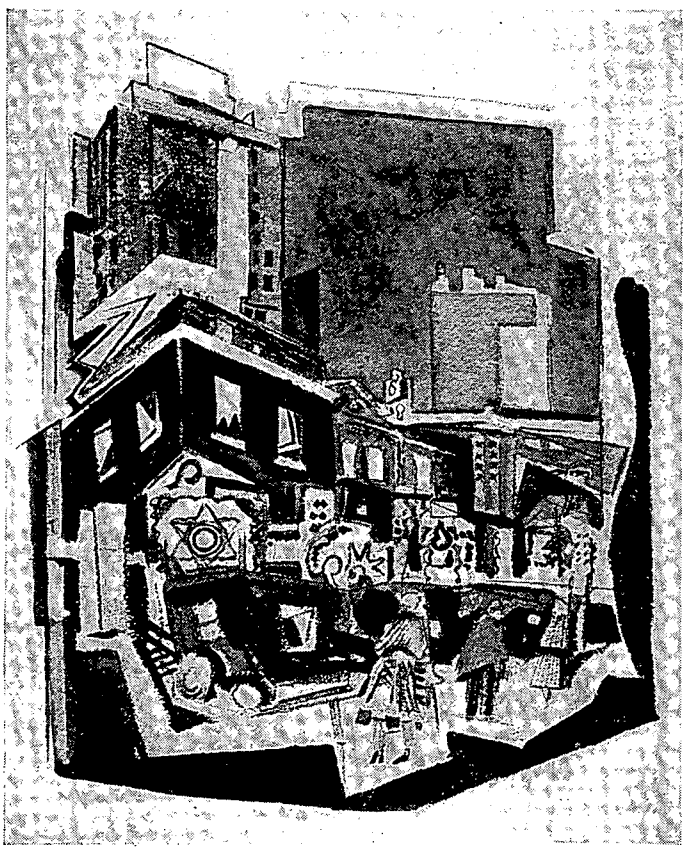
Modern and Academic Art

As Seen in Selections Made from Three Recent Exhibitions

THE assumption of past generations of painters that nature is copyable (which she is not), and its corollary that a work of art is a copy of nature, is the springboard from which Modern Art takes off. The direction of its progress is reflected in the words of a certain French modern: a picture is no longer a bit of nature seen through an open window (the frame); neither is it a record of the painter's emotional response to nature; a picture today is an entity, self-contained, a thing in itself and of itself alone, without reference to its maker or its subject.

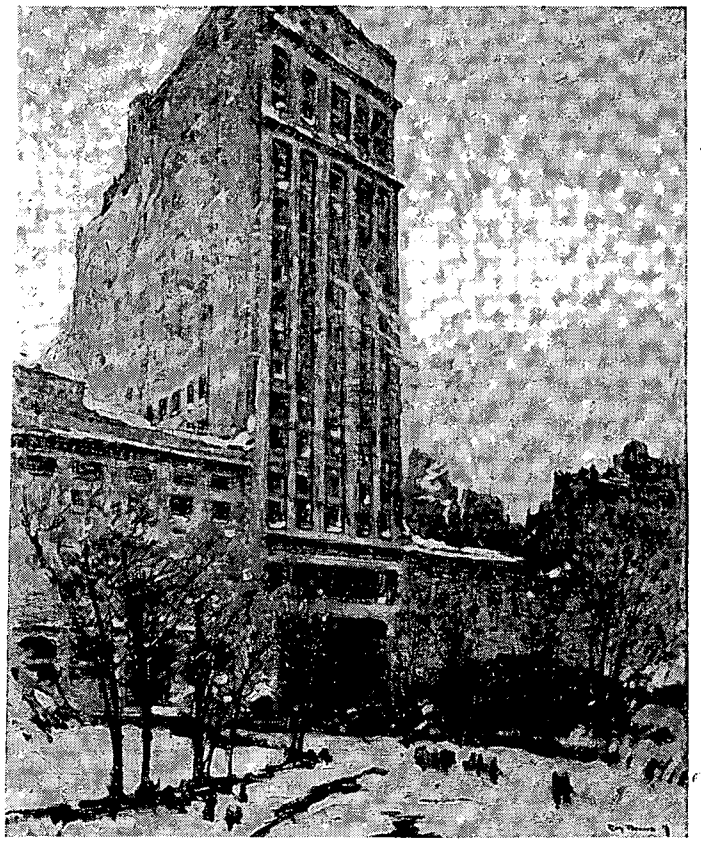
The logic of such doctrine is abstractionism, an end promptly achieved some years ago, and since increasingly discarded. But modern art in other manifestations continues to flourish in spite of the protests of the conservative critics, the apathy of the museums, and the bewilderment or the indifference of the public. It has made haste noisily and slowly. Indeed, two of the chief signs of its progress are both somewhat negative: it has brought about an odd note of apology, a wistful loss of authority, in traditionalism, and it has attracted to its banner the livest spirits of our times.

Its positive contribution, however, has been notable. Chaotic as it may seem at first glance, modern art has brought order (after a very long absence) back into painting. In its audacious plunge beneath surfaces, it has rediscovered rhythm and design, and given new vitality to both color and form in terms of organized unity. While the



NEW YORK

by John Marin (American), International Exhibition of Modern Art, Brooklyn Museum



THE SKYSCRAPER

by Roy Brown (American), Twenty-fifth Carnegie Institute International Exhibition, Pittsburgh

American moderns, as a group, cannot be said to have initiated these reforms, there is not to my mind a single other group in the world that has assimilated them more completely, or that in this day of consolidation is giving back a more genuine reflection of its own inner vision.

All this might seem to lead to the popular conclusion that modern art is, en masse, good—or bad, and that its acceptance necessarily implies the rejection of its supposed opposite, academic art. Neither conclusion is justified. Each school today is acting and reacting on the other—advantageously. But it is worth remembering that every movement, or, more accurately, every change—be it in art, or government, or women's fashions—is not only a striving *toward,* but a revolt *from.* The unfortunate, the unpardonable thing is for the non-rebel to mount the bandwagon of the rebels. Revolutions live and achieve by conviction, not by being fashionable.

For my part, I think there have been far too many and too willing converts to modernism. Which is to say far too few convinced practitioners and advocates. It is well that the public, which in the end always decides the artist's fate (generally some decades after he has passed on), is finally taking its courage in hand and liking what it does like. It would be better if at the same time it could manage to keep open mind to the likes of others.

ROBERT HALLOWELL

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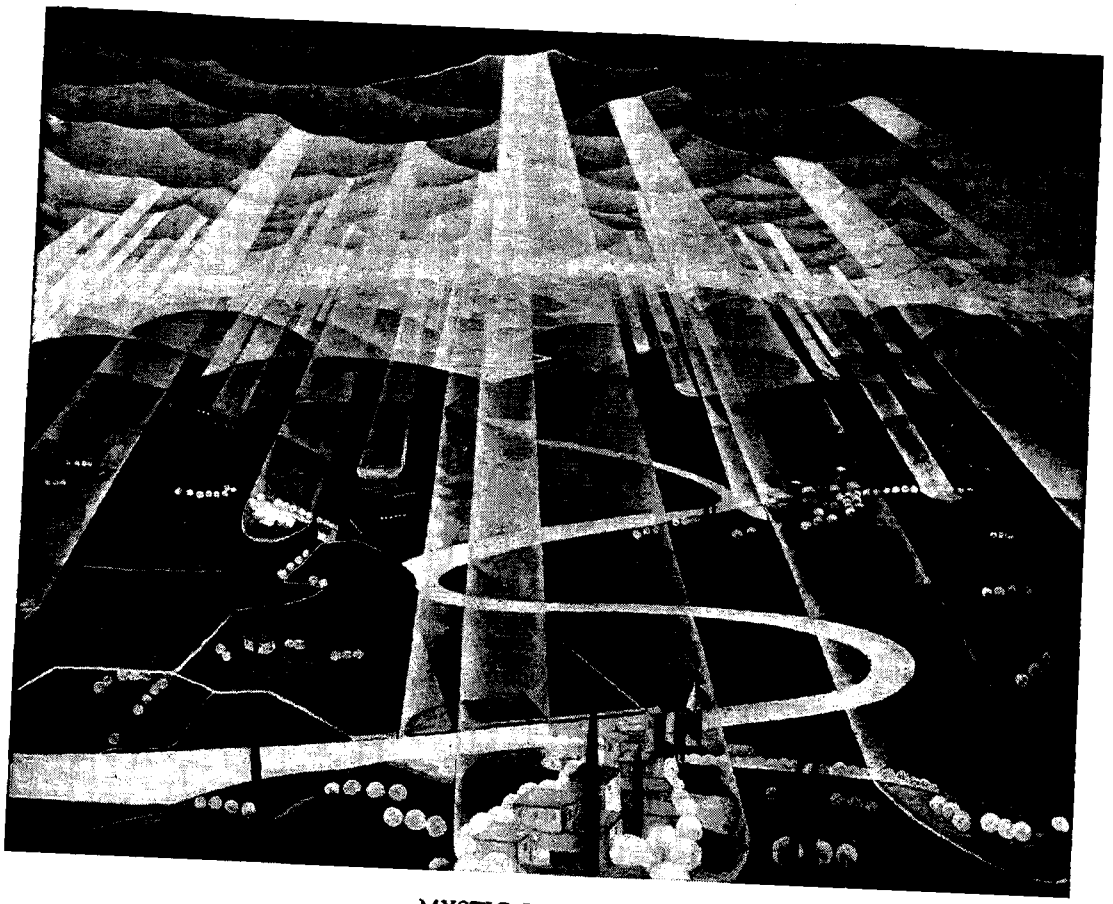

MYSTIC LANDSCAPE

by Dottori (Italian), International Exhibition of Modern Art Brooklyn Museum

ON these pages are reproduced, side by side, examples of current modern and academic art, taken with one exception from the Pittsburgh International, the current National Academy show, and the exhibition of Modern Art at the Brooklyn Museum. If art is the social force, which by lip service it is universally recognized to be, if its cultivation and understanding are means of conserving the esthetic capacities, and of realizing the creative possibilities of a machine age, then it is not inappropriate to present in these pages the extremes out of which the art of the future is being born. R. H.

THE DOCTOR'S CARRIAGE

by Beppe Ciardi (Italian), Twenty-fifth Carnegie International Institute Exhibition, Pittsburgh

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MOUNTEBANKS AND THIEVES
by Robert Spencer, N. A. (American), awarded Third Prize at the Twenty-fifth Carnegie Institute International Exhibition, Pittsburgh

STREET IN QUEBEC
by Preston Dickinson (American), courtesy of the Daniel Gallery, now in the collection of the Phillips Memorial Gallery

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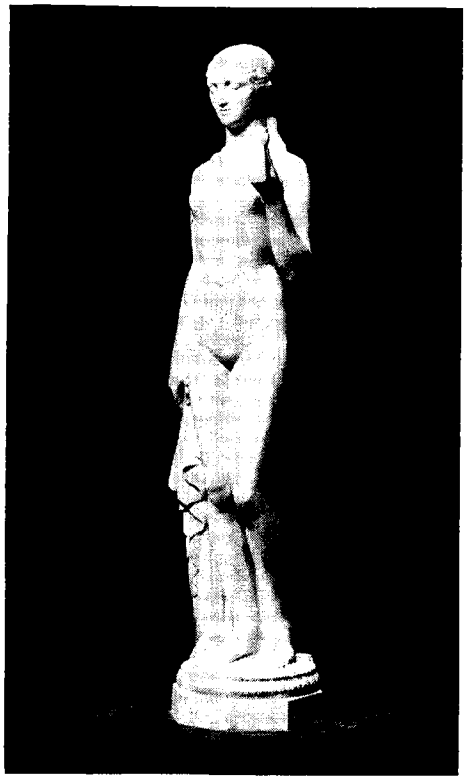

AWAKENING
by Hilda K. Lascari. Awarded Elizabeth N. Watrous gold medal, National Academy

CHINESE MUSIC
by Arthur Dove (American) International Exhibition of Modern Art, Brooklyn Museum

108 WEST 57 STREET
by Wayman Adams, N. A. Awarded the first Altman prize, National Academy

THE MAPLE TREE
by Georgia O'Keeffe (American) International Exhibition of Modern Art, Brooklyn Museum

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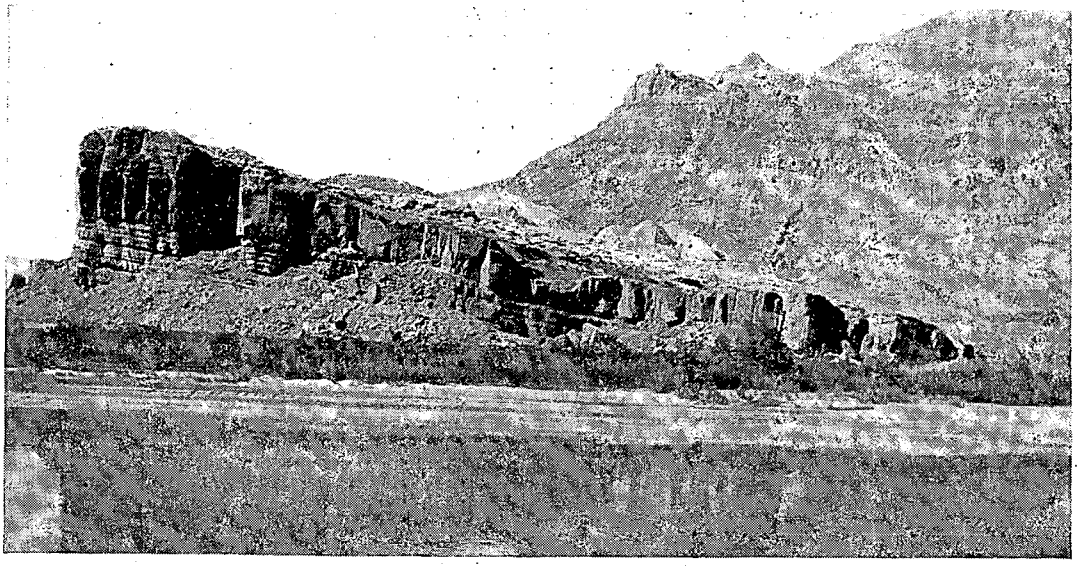

Site of the Lee's Ferry bridge to be built from Indian funds. The nearest Indian is thirty-five miles away

Are We Making Red Slaves?

By JOHN COLLIER

IN the dusk as we passed on the concrete bridge, exquisitely and massively built, an eighth of a mile long, crossing a river whose trickles of water glimmered, we saw far up westward two or three lights of the Pima Indian town. The decorative globes at intervals on the bridge reflected them. The Pimas year after year can bring no crops from waterless land that once bore heavy crops; year after year they wait while a five-million-dollar appropriation to bring water to their land lies unused; they die at the rate of fifty-nine per thousand per year from "slow starvation and heartbreak"; and the tourist bridge, far out in the desert, unused by the Pimas, built at a cost of a third of a million dollars, is charged as a reimbursable debt against the Pimas. My companion, a member of Congress, said: "It is a symbol of the Indian Bureau and the Indians."

Those seeking a large reform in Indian matters (they are outside and inside Congress) say and believe that they are attacking a form of peonage, serfdom or slavery. Those opposing large reform (they are in private life, in the Administration and in Congress) reply, and generally believe, that Indian affairs are benevolent. When Indian serfdom is being attacked as such, the defenders remain silent. When the ground shifts to benevolence, generalizations and statistics cloud the air.

At once let me state what I know from personal knowledge, that hundreds of Indian service employes are benevolent by intention. Probably thousands are. They are constructive as well as benevolent, within the limits of their situation. The Indian service gets better than it deserves in its men and women employes.

Headquarters attitudes have never been more dogmatic, more irresponsible than now. Brutalism toward field subordinates and disregard and suppression of their recommendations, have never been more extreme. (Not merely has the bureau suppressed the American Red Cross report on Indian health, and the National Bureau of Municipal Research report on Indian Bureau business methods, but by a comprehensive rule it suppresses the annual and special reports of its own field agents. In earlier years these reports were all public documents.) Yet there has been a losing of initiative down the line among teachers, medical

What the Fall policies meant with respect to the naval oil reserves—in the days before the stable door was banged shut, has been spread on the front pages of the newspapers the past month. What they meant with respect to the oil lands in the Indian reservations—how the situation still confronts Congress—how our federal policy towards the Indians is warped by property issues to the neglect of their human welfare, the subordination of their civic status, are counts in the charges made against the administration of the U. S. Indian Bureau by the most determined critic, John Collier, executive secretary of the Indian Defense Association. The significance of alarms raised by Mr. Collier and his associates in the period of popular somnolence with respect to the Fall regime, warrant a hearing to his indictment of our federal trusteeship today.

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In Reply to Mr. Collier

FOLLOWING established practice in the editing of critical articles on controversial subjects, The Survey sent copies of Mr. Collier's article in advance to Dr. Hubert Work, secretary of the interior; Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian affairs; Edgar F. Merritt, assistant commissioner of Indian affairs; to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions; and to the American Baptist Home Mission Society, offering them opportunity before publication "to protest, comment or present rebuttal statements."

Dr. Work and Mr. Merritt did not reply and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions returned the manuscript without comment. Commissioner Burke wrote: "It is almost impossible to conceive of seventeen pages of typewritten matter that could contain so much that is untrue, misleading and ridiculous as is contained in the manuscript you enclose. This is the only comment I shall make touching the article."

The American Baptist Home Mission Society replied at length, through its secretary of education, George Rice Hovey, stating that several years before the gift was made to them by Jackson Barnett, the society had begun supporting the Indian Office because of the latter's efforts to protect the Indians from legalized and merciless robberies by white attorneys and guardians appointed by Oklahoma courts. Further:

"We deny that the Indian Bureau can make or ruin, or ever has made or ruined, the work of a mission society, for these home mission boards have an exceedingly small part of their work among Indians. Certainly the $550,000 gift referred to can neither make nor its loss ruin the work of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The society was doing successful work among Indians before the gift was made. Nor has the society as yet received anything from this gift. Jackson Barnett is to receive as long as he lives $20,000 a year, nearly the full income of the gift, which is in Liberty bonds. His yearly income still amounts to between $60,000 and $70,000. He is not impoverished. Even after he dies, the income cannot be used for the general Indian work of the society, but goes entirely to one Indian school, Bacone College and Orphanage, and not to support but to enlarge that work.

"An action to determine the validity of the gift by Jackson Barnett has recently been tried in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, but no decision is expected until after January 1, 1927. In that action the alleged incompetency of Jackson Barnett is an issue. Whether the court shall decide him to have been competent or incompetent at the time the gift was made, it appeared upon the trial, both by uncontradicted testimony of witnesses and Barnett's own statements, that he knew what he wanted to be done with his money, namely, to receive the income therefrom during his lifetime and after his death to have it used for helping Indian orphans and educating Indian children. Since the conclusion of the trial, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma has decided that both the appointment of a guardian for Jackson Barnett and his adjudication as an incompetent were invalid.

"It is true that upon the trial of the action referred to in the preceding paragraph certain witnesses testified that at the time of the so-called 'abduction' of Jackson Barnett by his wife, there was some drinking done; but there was no testimony that Jackson Barnett himself participated in such drinking, and that he did not participate can fairly be inferred. The apparent intimation by Mr. Collier that the journey to Washington, where the gift was made, took place soon after the drinking and the marriage, is untrue. The gift was not made until after Jackson Barnett and his wife had been living happily together for three or four years.

"The Indian Office certainly did not plan this gift in order to win a mission board, nor did the board seek the gift. In the trial recently held it was testified that a Creek Indian, Rev. Billy McCombs, was the first to propose to Jackson Barnett to make a gift to the school. The next reference to such a gift was made by Barnett himself. When white men were asking him for contributions, he himself, added, 'I want to give to Bacone too.' The first move toward actually making the gift came not from the Indian Office but from the attorney of the Creek nation."

employes and even reservation superintendents. Modern impulse has broken into the service despite the overhead will. Publicity, a renewed and altered public interest, and a changed attitude in Congress have brought this result, quantitatively slight and disconnected, but hopeful. There are bureau employes today fully conscious, scheming and daring on heretical lines, risking punishment and being punished, and asking that their work be not praised by those criticising the Indian system. None so significantly desire the type of change indicated in this article, as many bureau employes who will bear witness if that time comes when they can be reasonably protected.

For the Indian affairs system, by technical classification and in practise, is slavery. Reservation Indians are slaves, and their enslavement is not benevolent. There are few instances of modern slavery wherein the destruction of life and of social values has equalled the current record of our Indian slavery. There are no instances wherein the personal sanctuaries of the slave have been so deliberately, invidiously and inescapably violated.

Slavery, currently or historically so recognized, has had many forms. It has been individual and again, collective or racial. It has been achieved through capture, through debt, through voluntary sale of children by parents, through forced labor; it has been maintained through sheer bloody force, through social taboo, through legal status, through contracts enforceable against enslaved communities or enslaved individuals. There has been private ownership of slaves, and quasi-public ownership as in the Dutch cocoa-islands and the Belgian Congo, and in state ownership as known in barbaric tribes and under Persian and Roman and early Russian absolutisms. American Indian enslavement is of the quasi-public and state-ownership type, and is vested in law as in the Old South or in ancient Rome.

In one profound aspect, Indians are more nearly peons or serfs than slaves. For in most instances, slave systems have needed economically to conserve the life and vigor of the slaves. The Indian affairs system is faced with no such economic requirement. Not around souls or bodies of Indians, but around Indian-owned property held in trust,

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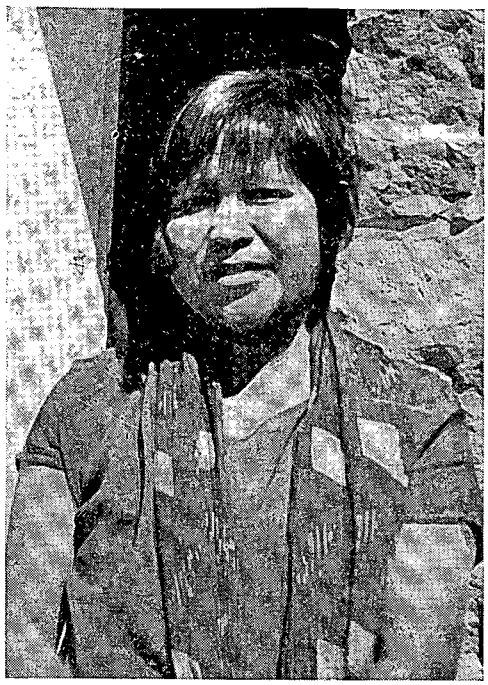
does the Indian system revolve. Most Indians are allotted in severalty under trust; and the property of an alloted Indian who dies is more absolutely controlled by the Indian Bureau than while the Indian lives. The "system" is not troubled when in California, for example, the Indians dwindle from 150,000 to 19,000 during Indian Bureau guardianship from causes which, admittedly, normal preventive measures would have prevented. The spiritual and physical doom hanging over Indians would not have existed in old-fashioned slaveries.

Yet the inclusive word—slavery — is the word which most adequately applies; the Indians are slaves.

The apology for modern occidental slaveries has always been benevolence; and the benevolent profession has usually led to benevolent enterprise.

Chief "A-1" of the White River Apache. The Apaches are still, as in army days, known by numbers



The Hopi Indian day-school teacher at Hotavilla, Arizona

The status of American Indians was fully described in Congressional hearings and floor debates beginning last February. I here summarize it.

Despite the Indian citizenship act of 1924, Indians remain subject to the plenary (unlimited) control of the political branch of our government—Congress. Congress, through statutes and through omissions, has delegated this plenary control to the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior.

The control involves Indian person and Indian property. There are 340,000 Indians of whom 225,000 are "restricted," "incompetent," "reservation Indians." The Indian property, as reported by the Indian commissioner, is $90,000,000 in cash and securities and $1,650,000,000 in other values. The Indian estate is about 110,000 square miles, and among its resources are oil, coal, asphalt, lead, zinc, asbestos, water-power, timber, irrigated and unirrigated farmlands and grazing lands.

The Indian Bureau, guardian over the Indians and their estate, is not subject to court review. Among the unreviewable and absolute powers which it exerts, sometimes by statutory authorization and sometimes by court construction, are the following:

It determines the mental competency of the Indians—i.e., whether the Indian property and person shall or shall not be under its own control. Having determined 225,000 Indians incompetent, thereupon

It determines whether and when the tribal or communal landholdings shall be broken into "allotments" to individuals. After allotment, the Bureau's unconditioned powers are more varied and more minute, and its machinery for trust-administration becomes more elaborate.

The allotted Indian may not sell his land without the Bureau's consent; or lease it without that consent; or will it or inherit it without that consent; or even use it without that consent. The exclusion of court-review is complete. When allotted land is sold or leased, the proceeds are controlled by the Bureau absolutely; (*Continued on page* 474)

The Way Out for Indians

ABOLISH the guardianship of the United States over the Indian person. It is a survival from times when the Indians were enemies or prisoners confined under martial law on reservations serving as prison compounds.

Preserve the federal guardianship over Indian property individual and tribal. Regulate that guardianship by statute; make it accountable to the courts; provide for its termination, whether for tribes or individuals, in the discretion of the federal court or through action by Congress after recommendation by the court. So amend the allotment law and other laws, as to permit joint or corporate landholdings and industrial enterprise by partnerships or tribes. Modern credit facilities to be extended to Indians; property and earning capacity, on initiative of the Indian borrowers, and after approval by the property guardian subject to court review, to be hypothecable against the loans. The spurious reimbursable indebtednesses to be remitted through act of Congress.

Comprehensive federal court jurisdiction to be established over civil and criminal matters on reservations; the court to be empowered in its discretion to recognize tribal custom and authority in matters internal to the tribes.

Transfer, with minor exceptions, all responsibility for Indian health work, education, social service, agricultural guidance and welfare to the states; the federal appropriations of tax-raised funds and Indian trust funds for these uses to be transferred to the states under contracts and to be supplemented through state appropriations.

—JOHN COLLIER

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A People's Versailles

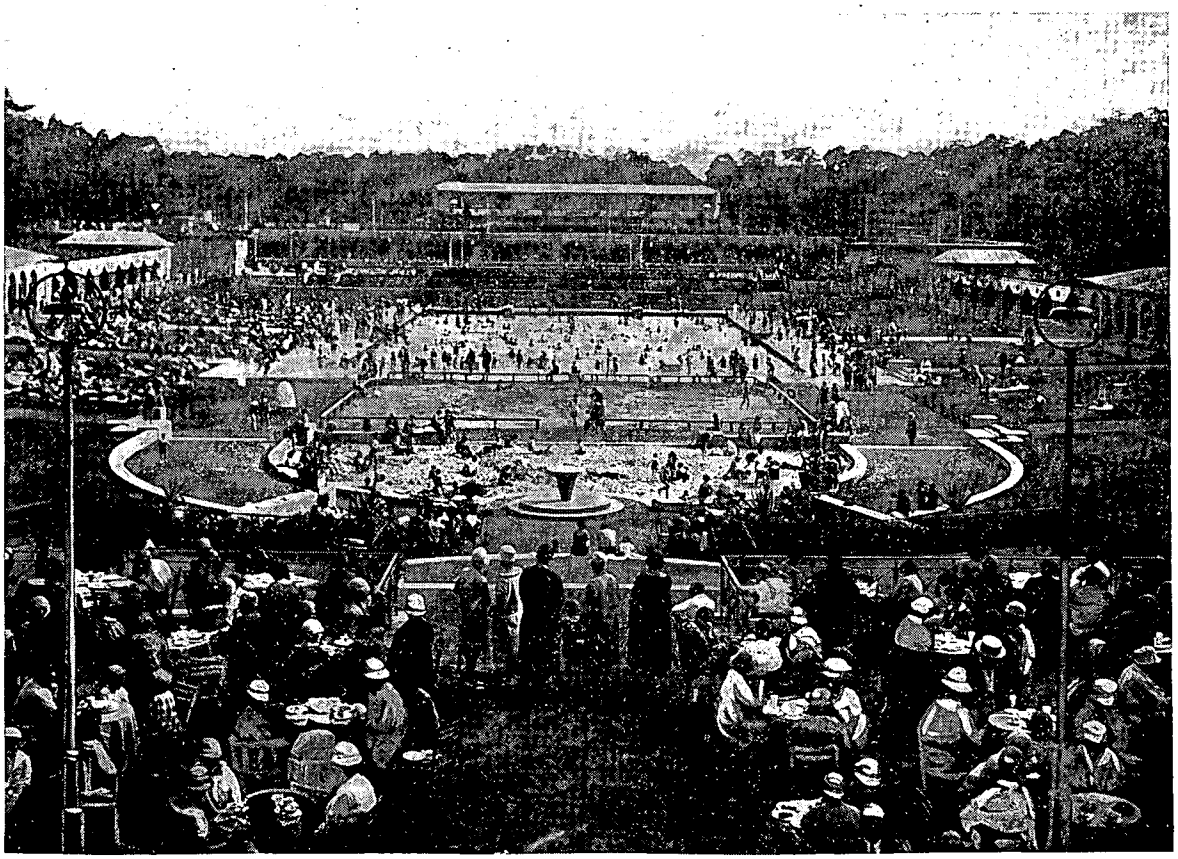
By FREDERIC C. HOWE

FEW things, in a two years roaming about Europe, have given me more excitement than A People's Versailles, which I discovered quite by accident in the outskirts of the city of Frankfort on the Main. And few things have given me such an understanding of the attitude of the German city towards its people, of the intelligence of municipal officials and the essential democracy of the life that seems to be finding expression in that country since the war. I have known Germany for thirty years, have studied in her universities, have written several books and many articles on her political and social experiments; I have wondered what the drift would be when she began to recover from the depression which I found there two years ago and the spirit of reaction that then seemed to be universal. I think I have found an answer in the cities, in talks with bankers, business men, editors, officials. Not in Frankfort alone but in other cities as well.

Now Frankfort does not call this enterprise that interested me so much "A People's Versailles." But that is the phrase that flashed through my mind as I got my first impression of it one Sunday evening in April last. There was no doubt about the similarity in the ground plans and many of the general effects. Certainly the men who planned this peoples' summer resort had the imperial play places of Louis XIV at Versailles and of Marie Theresa at Schoenbrunn in mind as they drew their lines across the former military training camp of the Kaiser, which the city of Frankfort bought from the Empire after the war. Only they planned for 500,000 people instead of for one. And in this case the men who built this play place, built it for themselves. Apparently they built it gladly, cheerfully and understandingly as did the builders of the old cathedrals along the Rhine.

The site is in the heart of the public forests which surround Frankfort on every side. It is scarcely fifteen minutes from the center of the city by street car. It lies along one of the main residential thoroughfares of the city, lined with the palaces of the rich burghers who have made Frankfort a powerful financial and commercial center for hundreds of years. And apparently neither citizens nor officials raised any protest against an invasion of this aristocratic center by twenty thousand people on every Sunday and feast-day for six to eight months of the year.

All Germany is intensely interested in sports. I counted 142 play and sport places, *turn* halls, swimming and other athletic sport places in the city of Frankfort, not to speak



In the immediate foreground is a sunken garden with fountains and sand pits for sun-baths where people can sit and lie in the sunlight all day long

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The feast of youth in the stadium

of a vast forest of thousands of acres owned by the city which is used by the people for all kinds of open air pleasures. Germany takes to the open on its free days, and when the city acquired the military training camp after the war, public-spirited citizens began to lay plans to convert it into a great play place for every kind of healthy out-of-door life. They did not call their dream a "People's Versailles." Rather they talked of a stadium. America had stadiums. Berlin had a stadium, Paris had a stadium. Frankfort should have one.

THEY do thoroughly these things municipal in Germany. The cities are run by experts, by men who make it a profession, and beauty is never neglected in any municipal undertaking. City planners, engineers and landscape gardeners were called in to aid in the planning and building of the enterprise. It was laid out in its entirety. Every bit of natural scenery was preserved. The surrounding forests provided a wonderful setting, isolating the spot from the outside world. And industrial conditions in Germany provided another justification for the undertaking. The mark was sinking slowly toward extinction. Mills and factories were closed. Thousands of men were out of employment. They were being supported at public charity by weekly doles. Germany is thrifty; Germany is intelligent in the giving of doles. She realizes that doles impair self-respect; they undermine the recipient's morale. And they are an absolute waste to the community. So Frankfort put her army of unemployed men to work. Instead of doles the city paid wages. It built the play place at a negligible cost, a cost estimated at three-quarters of a million dollars. The city got its People's Versailles in exchange for doles. In a sense it is getting it for nothing. And the arguments of those who said that the city was too poor for this extravagance were answered by the obvious wisdom of the plan adopted.

The park is shaped like a triangle with the main entrance at the apex. Within the park are two principal axes converging at the entrance, each of which is about one-half mile in length. The base is a half mile wide. The main entrance opens into a broad parkway which brings one to a large two-story club-house, containing restaurants where food is provided at a low cost. On the facade opposite to the entrance is a big open balcony where coffee, tea and drinks are served and where band concerts are held in the afternoons and evenings. It was from this balcony I got my first picture of this peoples' play place. Before me lay a sunken mall several hundred feet wide with high embattlements in the distance. In the immediate foreground was a sunken garden with fountains and sand pits for sun-baths where people could sit and lie in the open all day long. On either side were retiring rooms. Immediately beyond was a pool about four hundred feet square. Open-air sun cures are popular in Germany—there are many private natatoriums where people swim in the water or lie in the sunlight all day long. Here was a public sun cure which could be used by thousands of people.

BEYOND the first pool was a swimming pool 350 feet long and 100 feet wide. There was a deep diving pool at one end. The pool was elevated. On the tops were benches for spectators. The pool itself was lighted above and by incandescent lights in the bottom. Provision was made for heating the water so that the pool could be used in the spring and the autumn. On the sides were dressing-rooms and shower-baths.

Still further on was a stadium. It was designed especially for bicycle races and sports of various kinds. It will seat

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several thousand people. The center can be flooded for skating in the winter. This whole section as in fact the entire park, can be brilliantly lighted at night for contests, competitions, play. Everything was orderly, clean, thought out in advance. There was art in everything. One might easily spend a summer vacation here either coming and going each day or living in a hotel built for the purpose.

IT seemed to me that half the population of Frankfort could spend its summer days in this play place, and that every one might find facilities for the sports or branches in which he was most interested. The entire family could come with children of all ages and the mothers could be quite content that they were free from danger. From the big swimming pool I returned to the club-house. I had seen but one division of the recreation park. To the right of the club-house I came upon a play place for children. It was detached from the main thoroughfare and enclosed with trimmed shrubbery artistically fashioned and suggestive of fairyland. There was but one entrance and hundreds of children can easily be supervised by a single person. Extending out from the club-house the entire length of the parkway was another series of play places each planned in every detail for the widest possible use. The first was a close-cropped green lawn with raised terraces on the sites and possibly 800 feet in length; where the *Turnvereins* of the city can meet to exercise. Continuing through this field I came upon another field of even greater length and width. It, too, is sunken with benches and seats on either side. There was provision for four football fields with another field for handball. At the end of this field is a huge indoor gymnasium eliptically formed and two stories high.

On the far side was an open-air tribune commanding the big stadium which is the central feature of the park. In this gymnasium there are instructors, baths and facilities of all kinds. Flanking the stadium on the right was an open-air theatre sunken like an amphitheatre with the stage flanked with carefully trimmed trees and shrubbery for outdoor productions. It will accommodate several thousand people. Still further on was a field for horse races, hurdle and obstacle races.

The whole enterprise is known in Frankfort as the Stadium, but the stadium is in reality but one part of it. The stadium is colossal. On one side is a grandstand, on the other the administration building and tribune for judges. Here competitions of all kinds can be held. Here Olympian meetings can be arranged for; here great conventions can be staged. And it is in constant use during the summer.

THE men who planned this enterprise planned it for use, and for use by as many people as possible. Transportation was part of the plan. First there were the tramways connected with the main entrance. The steam railways were extended to another entrance. On the opposite side was a bicycle path. There was another entrance for automobiles and a special automobile highway from the park to the city. This highway was exclusively for motor cars. Pedestrians and cyclists are excluded; if injured by motor cars, they have no redress. So complete are the transportation agencies that 20,000 people can be brought to the stadium or taken away in less than an hour's time.

And on all sides are the great forests which surround the city of Frankfort, forests which have been owned by the city for centuries. For Frankfort is the largest real estate owner in the city if not in the world. Frankfort owns 24,000 acres of land; of this colossal holding 18,500 acres are within the city limits. The total area of the city is 33,350 acres, so that the city itself owns more than half of the area on which it is built.

The German cities give very little away. Germany does not like charity, and Frankfort makes all of her enterprises pay their way even though the charges are very low. Frankfort plans to make this enterprise self-supporting. The entrance fee, the earnings of the restaurant, the hotel and the Olympic entertainments will yield a handsome income. The actual construction outlay was very little, and in a few years time it will be completely repaid. So Frankfort is quite within the truth when she says that this People's Versailles cost her nothing. It was built with money that otherwise would have gone as doles. It was built by labor that would otherwise have been unemployed. It was almost literally an instance of making of bricks without straw, for the stone which I admired so much in the club-house, stadium and other buildings was not stone at all. The city engineers had discovered a way to use the sand excavated from the sunken gardens to make cement blocks which had all the appearance of finely cut stone and were as durable as granite.

IT was twenty-five years ago when I first became interested in the German city from reading Albert Shaw's Municipal Government on the Continent of Europe. The outstanding feature of the German city at that time was its businesslike administration of municipal affairs. The German city began to widen its activity. It acquired the street railways, gas and electric lighting undertakings. It became a social as well as business agency. Then town planning became a science and German cities planned their growth and development in a norderly, far-visioned way.

The city began to house its people; to erect model tenements; to put an end to tenement slums. It was interested in efficiency, in health, in making war on disease. During these years the official vision of what a city might be and should be was widening. It was becoming more generous, more human, more democratic. And in each of these evolutionary stages a successful experiment in one city was immediately copied by others. The German city has always been a path-finder, not for Germany alone but for the world as well. And Frankfort was always a pioneer, venturing into new fields. Now she has recognized the right of people to play. She has recognized the necessity for public provision for leisure. And in this People's Versailles she has made such generous provision that even the poorest can enjoy a summer vacation at their very doors with consideration for their health, for their happiness and for their cultural entertainment, all planned, equipped and supervised by public authorities with as much care as is given to a museum, an art gallery, a city hall or a private palace. Eighteenth century Germany built parks and palaces for a royal ruler. Present day Germany is building parks and play places for the people. The Frankfort Stadium seemed to me a symbol of tomorrow as the old City Hall where Kings and Emperors have been chosen and crowned, was a symbol of yesterday.

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Horizon Lines

A Monthly Survey of Our International Frontiers

By JAMES G. McDONALD

IS there a new crisis in our Government's relations with Mexico? One would think so, to judge by the sharpness of tone of Secretary Kellogg's latest note. Even more ominous are the indications that officials in Washington are deliberately attempting to create throughout the country the feeling that Mexico is the center of bolshevik propaganda in Central America. It looks as though the Administration were seeking to create a public opinion favorable to a strong policy towards our southern neighbor.

The issue is not new. It is the old question of property rights of foreigners. Acts of violence are not charged, nor is it claimed that confiscation has yet been carried out. Therefore, it is obviously absurd to call conditions in Mexico bolshevik.

The outstandng differences are three. They all relate to the recent land and oil laws passed by the Mexican Government to carry out the nationalization provision of the Constitution of 1917. Are these laws retroactive in their effect? Do they involve an impairment of fundamental rights of the foreign property owners? Are they violative of the conditions said to have been the basis of the recognition of the Mexican Government in 1923? To all of these questions Washington replies with an emphatic "Yes'" and Mexico City with as emphatic a "No!"

Our Government is not questioning the general principle of the right of Mexico to nationalize its natural resources. It does question, however, the right to impair previously created property rights of foreigners. It insists that the non-retroactive clause of the constitution makes constitutional the later Mexican legislation which affects adversely titles created before the 1917 Constitution was promulgated. There is no question as to the status of the rights of foreigners created since 1917. These are admitted to be subject to the constitutional limitation of that year. Everything centers around investments and interests prior to 1917. The United States holds that the titles of oil lands created before 1917 are now valid and binding on the Mexican Government Mexico replies that such titles were in themselves merely incomplete or inchoate, unless the foreign owner gave concrete evidence of his intention to develop the oil possibilities of his holdings. The Mexican Government claims that it is fully within its rights when it requires the holders of titles to oil lands, on the penalty of forfeiture, to exchange them for government concessions. This our Government contends is unjust and in some cases tantamount to confiscation.

The second difference arises out of the Mexican Government's insistence that the foreign property owners promise not to invoke the support of their governments and instead to submit themselves wholly to Mexican jurisdiction in all disputes where their property interests are concerned. This, the so-called "Calvo clause," is commonly included in Latin-American contracts. The controversy about it at the present juncture seems to be incidental rather than fundamental.

To the United States' third charge that the land and oil laws violate the pledge given by the Mexican commissioners prior to recognition, Mexico replies that its recognition was not conditioned on that agreement and that in any case the Mexican commissioners incorporated a reservation which left their Government free to enact the nationalization legislation.

The controversy between the two governments is essentially justiciable. If it cannot be settled amicably by diplomacy, it should be referred to an arbitral tribunal, such perhaps, as is provided for in the 1923 Claims' Convention. Moreover, in the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo, 1848, still in effect between Mexico and the United States, there is a clause which morally binds both governments to refer this sort of a question to arbitration. There is no occasion for ultimata and veiled threats, except to encourage the enemies of the Mexican Government at home and abroad. Just now these are trying to induce the Washington Government to lift the arms embargo. To accede to this demand would at the present juncture be tantamount to an encouragement of revolution against the government of a friendly state.

The Situation in the Philippines

THE future of the Philippines is more in the news than at any time for the past ten years. The Thompson Mission, the detailed daily reports of its investigations and the return of Colonel Thompson a few weeks ago unite to force upon a reluctant American public some consideration of this major problem. The Thompson report has not been published, but the summaries of it, particularly those printed in the New York Times, indicate that in some respects it is much more conciliatory than was anticipated. Apparently, the report will recommend:

Eventual complete internal autonomy, both economic and legislative, under the protection of the United States for an indefinite period;

The re-establishment of full cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Island Government;

Replacement of the governor's "cavalry cabinet" by American civilian advisers technically trained to administer the different branches of civil government;

Supervision in this country to be transferred from the War Department to a special bureau in a civil department;

Gradual extension of self-government until the cooperation between the executive and legislature warrant the election of a Filipino governor-general;

The United States to continue in control of foreign relations with a strengthening of our control in the Moro country;

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The Philippine legislature to continue to determine whether large-scale production of rubber and other tropical products is to be permitted;
The educational system to be extended and to emphasize more technical training on agriculture, commerce and finance;
The withdrawal of the Government from private business ventures.

If a program comparable to these recommendations is carried out, many of the grievances of the Filipinos will have been removed; their major demand, independence, will however be but little nearer realization. That the desire for independence in the near future is deep-rooted in the masses of the Filipino people was convincingly testified to at a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association in New York on December 4. Incidentally, that discussion was notable for the presentation by W. Morgan Shuster, formerly a member of the Philippine Commission and secretary of public instruction in the Philippines, of a plan by which independence would, after successive stages, be granted in 1948. It is significant that the Filipino spokesman on that occasion expressed the opinion that Mr. Shuster's plan, if worked out in consultation with Filipino representatives, might be acceptable to the Filipino people. Why should such a conference not be held? It would be educatonal in the highest degree and might prepare the way for a just and permanent settlement.

The World Court

WHAT did President Coolidge mean by his Armistice Day reference to the World Court? His announcement that even though the members of the Court at their September Geneva conference had decided to propose counter reservations to the Senate's fourth and fifth conditions, he would not ask the Senate to reconsider its terms, can be interpreted in two ways. The optimists say: "The President, knowing that the Senate would not make any changes and anxious to keep the way open for the eventual adherence of the United States, has chosen to give the other countries concerned public warning that they must accept the Senate's reservations unconditionally." The pessimists retort: "It is a clear case of scuttle. The President has decided to 'improve his hand' by discarding the Court issue." Whatever his motive, Mr. Coolidge's pronouncement encourages the enemies of the Court and discourages its friends. Certainly, there is no disposition abroad to accept the Senate's terms unquestioningly. Therefore, unless the President somehow continues informal, diplomatic negotiations looking toward a way out of the impasse, his most notable proposal in international affairs will have failed.

In view of the uncertainty of our government's adherence to the World Court, the leaders of many national organizations are asking themselves whether the peace forces of the country ought not to rally behind a demand that our country negotiate and ratify a series of general obligatory arbitration treaties, perhaps in the first instance with Great Britain. The initiator of this movement, as of so many other effective national efforts, seems to have been Carrie Chapman Catt. More recently a group of the so-called radicals, some of whom are associated with the Arbitrator, adopted the same slogan. During the second week in December, the Second National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War called by nine national women's organizations considered the possibility of uniting on this as the major plank in their program of peace activities during 1927.

A brief survey of America's role in this development of arbitral procedure and commitments is enlightening.

Our Government and people were leaders in this movement, by precept and example, for more than 125 years. From the Jay Treaty in 1794 through the Alabama Claims in 1871 and down through two Hague Conferences we led the world on this broad road towards peace. But with the defeat of President Roosevelt's general treaties of arbitration in 1905 our role became a very different one. In 1908 even Mr. Roosevelt surrendered to the Senate. In 1911 President Taft was defeated by the Senate in his effort to carry his treaties of general arbitration. Since the war we have not been a party to the obligations of the League Covenants and have done nothing to make the provisions of that document more effective. In the development of the Geneva Protocol our Government had no part, though individual American citizens were genuinely helpful. In the formulation of far-reaching bi-lateral arbitration treaties in the last few years we have contributed little. Contrast with the unqualified, binding treaties between Germany and Sweden and between Denmark and Sweden—to mention only two of the unqualified treaties between European states—our recent treaty with Sweden in which we continue to reserve questions of "international honor" and "vital interests."

Arbitration is one of the most constructive and hopeful means of assuring peace. The rest of the world is going forward rapidly in the development of arbitral technique and commitments while we are standing still or are looking backward. It is imperative that the United States be brought to a sense of its relative backwardness. There is great need for a unified program and for concerted action by the great national organizations, but perhaps even more immediately necessary is a thorough study of the factors which account for our country's reactionary tendencies since 1905. Unless those factors are understood and can be counteracted, no amount of general educational effort will avail. We must know what the forces against us are before we can effectively combat them.

Renascence in China

THE return of Silas Strawn and the publication of the report of the Commission on Extra-territoriality in China, over which he has presided for the past year, coincides with the continued victories of the Cantonese national armies. Most of the political significance of the report is destroyed thereby. Its suggestions of basis on which the Powers will consider giving up their special jurisdiction are a little academic in the face of an overwhelming Chinese opinion determined to force the relinquishment of these rights at the earliest possible moment. The victorious Cantonese have never veiled their fixed policy of ending all the "unequal" treaties. In this program even the shadow government of Peking joins.

A welcome relief from the current press stories of Chinese anarchy, civil war and political incapacity is a confidential memorandum prepared recently by the representative of one of the largest foreign interests in all China. He reminds us that "the changes that are taking place in China in these few years are in many respects similar to those which came in Europe through a period of two or three centuries and separately and successively. In China, simultaneously and quickly there are developing an intellectual renascence, an industrial development, an economic, social, and political

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revolution. There are bandits along the Yangtze and pirates on the seacoast because the steamships have deprived the junkmen of their means of livelihood. The students and student class are turbulent because modern science and democracy are driving out the 'vanishing authorities' of the classics. The militarists have grown in power because the people have not yet had time to learn that the 'decree of heaven' upon which all government is dependent is now to be expressed by themselves in ways and by means that they have still to discover."

Nor is it so certain that China must develop a national dictator in order to be saved. The authority quoted above writes: "China has been a super-democracy, the people being governed by their local guilds and clan and village elders. For example, there was no national code of civil laws, for civil rights were determined by local customs and the precedents of guild and clan rules and decisions, and this is the reason why it is now almost impossible for the Law Codification Commission to draft a Code of Civil Laws."

Perhaps federation, rather than centralization is China's path for the future.

On the other hand, the Chinese people are much less divided than is commonly believed. The educational system is being developed as a whole. Similarly, the courts and the laws follow national rather than provincial lines. The business men are united in a national association. Despite the warring of Tuchens, the spirit of unity of the Chinese people has never been so strong as now.

Among the most notable increasingly effective constructive forces in China today are the following:

1. The growth of education on modern lines. By 1922-23, the last year for which the figures are available, the number of schools increased from 57,267 to 178,972, and the students from 1,626,529 to 6,819,486. And in quality, as well as quantity, there has been great improvement. Teachers' training goes forward. The education of girls develops. Popular education is emphasized.

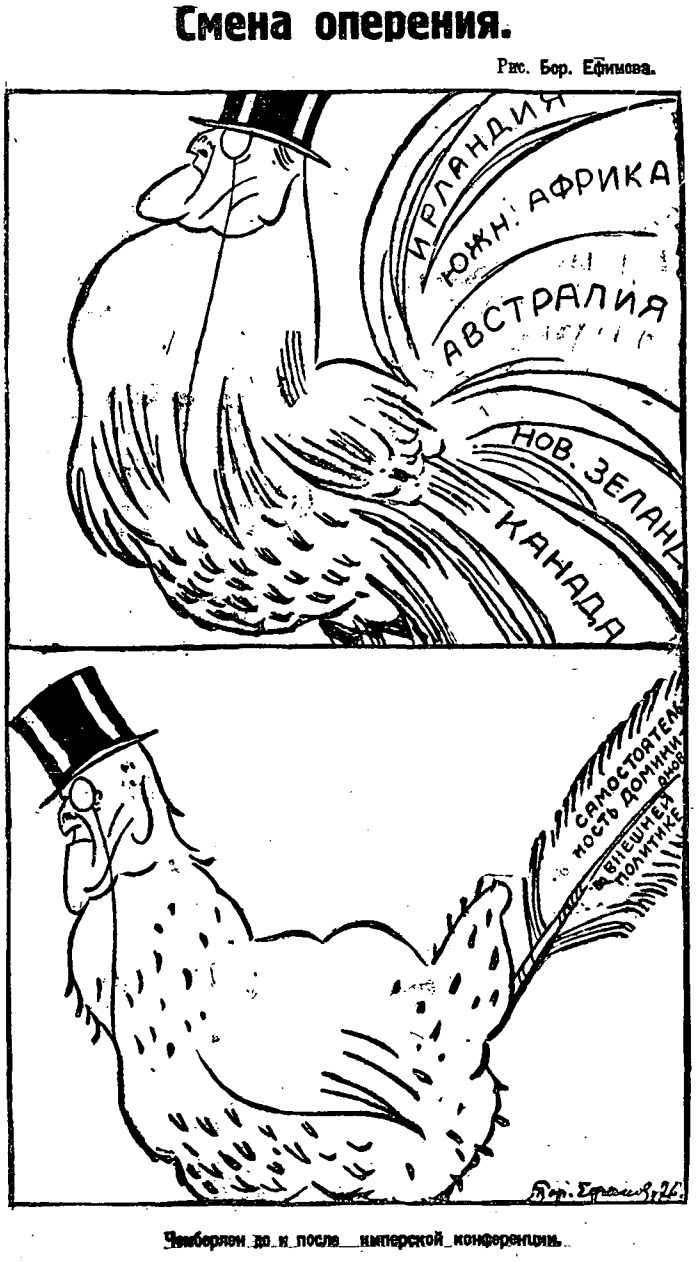
2. "The literary revolution of these recent years is both an evidence of the profound changes occurring in the realm of thought and also a possible influence affecting the mental outlook amongst educated classes. The living language of today has been adopted in place of the dead classical forms as the literary medium."

3. The continued growth of foreign trade and the maritime customs revenues, taels 1,200,000,000 in 1916 to more than taels 2,300,000,000 in 1925, tell their own story.

4. The maintenance by the great Chinese banks of their currency at par.

5. The increase in national consciousness, whose manifestations have several times been disquieting, is fundamental, normal and sound.

To these should be added the broader and more statesman-like views recently taken by the Great Powers. For example, Great Britain, unmoved by the clamor from the business interests in the treaty ports for a strong policy, refuses to intervene with force and apparently is getting ready to support the Canton Government. The turning over to the Chinese of the Mixed Court in Shanghai, in spite of strong opposition favoring some sections of the foreign business community, is also symptomatic of the Powers' increased willingness to assent to China's demand for a revision of the present treaties. Conciliation and understanding are promising substitutes for coercion and threats.



From Isvestia, Moscow, Nov. 24

CHANGE OF FEATHERING

Sir A. Chamberlain before and after the Imperial Conference. The feathers are marked: Ireland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada. In the lower picture—after the conference—the lone feather: Independence of Dominions in foreign relations

The Imperial Conference

THE recent imperial conference in London did not draft a constitution for the empire. It did something much more significant and much more British. It disclosed in an admirably frank document the present organic and fundamental relationships between the different self-governing members of the empire. "They are autonomous communities within the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the crown and freely associated as members of the British commonwealth as nations."

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

The Century of Reform

THE Century of Reform—thus M. A. DeWolfe Howe titles the last hundred years of American life when he has called the roll of Causes and Their Champions. The roll reads:

The Red Cross and Clara Barton
Temperance and Frances E. Willard
New Use of Wealth and the Rockefellers
Tolerance in Religion and Phillips Brooks
American Labor Movement and Samuel Gompers
Woman Suffrage and Susan B. Anthony
Negro Advancement and Booker T. Washington
World Peace and Woodrow Wilson

There is a thrill in that list. Why, perhaps that century that looked like a chaos to its in-dwellers, and is superciliously labelled "Victorian" and *"laissez-faire"* and "smug" and "sentimental" by its grand-children, will loom in history as the cycle of American Crusades. Mr. Howe, in his volume that is not very original either in facts or style, has achieved a rare kind of originality by simply looking at things whole. It is good sometimes to look back and count our blessings. However dubious you may feel as to the final value of some of these reforms, or however you may differ with Mr. Howe in his awarding of laurels, the total picture is of a kind of continuous ecstacy of humanitarian zeal that must cheer both the hopeless and the hopeful. For the hopeless here is proof of idealism in causes undertaken and leaders of indomitable courage; for the hopeful here is new strength in the knowledge that what was done by these long and arduous struggles can be done again.

Moreover, this is but half the tale. Mr. Howe is from temperament a conservative even when writing of champions. He is not much interested in left wings. Yet what cause was ever won without the left wing? Eugene Debs surely stands for something heroic in the labor struggle. The ancient line of Quaker non-resistants dreamed of world peace long before President Wilson dreamed of the League of Nations. The bitter demands of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois for recognition of the Negro have certainly molded our present view of race relations. In the fight for suffrage Alice Paul was a champion if ever we had one. We cannot recall that Thorstein Veblen even championed anything, but his critique of the leisure classes and their misuse of wealth has not been without effect on the social use of great riches. Robert G. Ingersoll was not notably tolerant, yet somhow he taught tolerance to the average American. The practical idealist of the Anti-Saloon League won the victory that Miss Willard inspired. One crusade, perhaps the greatest of all, that for helping women and children to better lives, Mr. Howe has missed. Yes, it is a queer list that does not name Jane Addams—the world champion of sweetness and light for just folks.

But how ungenerous it is to find fault with Mr. Howe! These are *his* champions, and ours, and a memorable brotherhood. It is a beneficent deed to have given in small compass so much evidence that America breeds idealists as well as inventors and captains of industry. Here, simply and clearly told, are tales of our crusaders, woven out of history and biography into a volume that he rightly says might have been called Studies in American Idealism. The author is no Strachey or Gamaliel Bradford with their penetrant apprehension of souls or their creative imagination that makes souls take on flesh and move as humans among us. He gives few uncanny hints of what fire within enabled these leaders to change the design of their times. But he does outline the high lights, and offers a primer that will impress upon many readers the fact that history is not all made by military and state heroes.

His book offers a theme for variations on causes. First, how few causes are ever won! The Red Cross is a fact and its humanitarian creed accepted by the world. Woman Suffrage is in the Constitution—though women are still fighting for broader rights. Temperance has achieved the Constitution, but not yet won the hearts of our countrymen. The use of wealth, however, is still a puzzle; the advancement of the Negro still a hope; World Peace still a dream. Labor has its almost annual battles for existence. And the very word *tolerance* rings queer in a world full of fundamentalists and modernists and knights of the Klan.

T it instructive also to perceive that the causes now most nearly won had women champions. The women started out almost a hundred years ago to make war less terrible, to stop drunkenness, and to win the vote. Today they have concrete achievements as symbols of victory. Do they make better crusaders than men? Or do they perhaps with an inner sense of reality based on biology elect causes that can be won? They have faced conditions, not theories, and shown inconsiderable interest in trying to change vague social sanctions and ideologies. They are interested in social status only as a weapon—and so demanded equal suffrage. They fought to free the slave, yet they have been but politely interested in the Fourteenth Amendment. They have always dealt with life and suffering and so have been able to define their causes to the plain people, and muster behind them irresistible emotional forces. It seems time to ask whether we had better not interest women champions in some of our lagging causes—or would they be interested?

The last lesson of Mr. Howe's very fertile book is: no champion ever won a cause alone. They merely lead campaigns in a long war. Phillips Brooks passes on the torch to

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the strange hand of Clarence Darrow. Woodrow Wilson finds an ally in Lord Robert Cecil. Samuel Gompers needs the complement of Mother Jones. The Rockefellers take a leaf from Andrew Carnegie's book of benefactions. And back of them all is that vast army of unknown soldiers whose tiny daily martyrdom and long vigils in the night give birth to the cause and crown the champions.

LEON WHIPPLE

CAUSES AND THEIR CHAMPIONS, *by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Little, Brown and Co. 331 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

The Gift of the Jungle

THE revolutionary significance of this study of the jungle-cults and culture of the so-called "bushnegroes" of Suriname, a South American settlement that is a perfect replica of the original African scene, is that the philosophy of the jungle is not left out. Consequently instead of a curious, primitive and pathetically backward society such as is usually presented, the jungle viewed from the point of view of the skyscraper and the gothic spire, we have a vivid picture of society living in ways that the tropics dictate, surviving by that most impressive and universal of all laws of life, adaptation to environment. At last we seem to have come to the right *rationale* of scientific judgment of human types of society—and it is significant that Mr. Vandercook believes this and applies it consistently. Morals, customs, crafts, people, human relations, intimate and casual are all judged by this graciously relative standard, and marvelous to say, we read his picture of this primitive folk with almost the envy of Rousseau, whose golden age of savagery was not so long ago a romantic dream.

Mr. Vandercook finds the tropical forests "the most strenuous place in the world to live," he discovers their strange fatalistic philosophy not only to be a natural reaction to the environment, but a protective and effective device, it is, he says, "the genius of content, the skill of a philosophy that can accommodate itself to myriad defeats," he finds its morals, as indeed all students of primitive African societies not of the missionary bias have found them to be, exemplary in practice even when not lofty in conception. And when it comes to skill and technique in living, where all of it has to be reduced to a personal equipment of body and a few crude implements, there is where, in the enthusiasm of this report, our most complete transvaluation of values has to come, with the jungle-man sitting astride our humbled vanity by the end of the account. The chapter on the Crafts of the Jungle is a revelation. The five days' skilful sleepless woodburning that goes to the making of a balanced, beautifully carved canoe, "flawlessly symmetrical without caliper or rule" is an epic of craftsmanship. We realize that better than the idealization of savage life with alien sentimental values or the later mode of belittling it with invidious comparisons, has come at last an objective approach that lets the life bring forward its own values and stand in its intrinsic simplicity and unembarrassed frankness.

Quite interesting too is Mr. Vandercook's belief in this same basis of life values for the black man even under civilization. He overlooks, I think, how integral a part of European culture these same descendants of the African aborigines have become, but he is essentially sound and progressive in his dictum that in common with the rest of the world, but with peculiar necessity for his own self-respect and soul's good, "the civilized Negro must lose his contempt for his 'heathen' brethren in Africa and in the jungles" and

From an engraving by William Blake, an illustration for Tom Tom by John W. Vandercook, Harper's

Captain Stedman superintending the skinning of a giant Suriname boa constrictor

that "a race is like a man. Until it uses its own talents, takes pride in its own history, and loves its own history, and loves its own memories, it can never fulfil itself completely." But the world goes not only by culture heritages, but by culture adoptions and the final test of proper assimilation is effective use, which if consistently applied means that the man of the tropics must leave the jungle ways behind him when he leaves the tropics, and that instead of the man being the test of the civilization, the civilization must always be the test of the man.

ALAIN LOCKE

TOM TOM, *by John W. Vandercook. Harper's. 258 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Greek Tragedy on Broadway

THE Captive (translated from Edouard Bourdet's *La Prisonnière* by Arthur Hornblow, Jr.) now packing the Empire theater is in essence a Greek tragedy. The theme is Greek—a Lesbian passion that holds a brilliant girl captive to a perverse love for another woman—herself married. The inexorable fate with which this unclean amour ruins every life it touches is Greek. The lessons I would draw are modern. First, it is almost incomprehensible that a study of pathological sex love can be put on a public stage in America, and draw large audiences. The social critic may well study it as a bench-mark for the rising tide of intellectual tolerance and Continentalism. The old mark was the

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bar against Brieux's Damaged Goods and Shaw's Mrs. Warren's Profession two decades ago.

Second, it is clear that if such plays be worth doing, our stage can produce them with perfect cleanness. The play as a play, the acting, and production (under the brilliant aegis of Gilbert Miller) are unimpeachably sincere and of good taste. There is not a single condescension to the evil-minded. The symbolism is sterile as a clinic. Nor in fact did the evil-minded reveal themselves. The audience I saw was serious and at moments tense, but often I imagine bored because their adolescent curiosity expected something else from street gossip. Broadway does not exactly hunger and thirst for a Greek drama of inescapable Fate. The talk I overheard in the aisles was about "asylums" and the duty of warning girls.

As playwriting, The Captive is a brilliant *tour de force*. The growing suspense as to what force holds Irene de Montcel in thrall, the entangling of the man who loves her to help save her reputation, the climax of revelation through the husband of the other woman, the failure of Irene's marriage as a cure, and the final recurrence of the original situation—husband to his mistress, wife to hers—are rendered with intricate dialogue and the dove-tailing of minor events. The play is of necessity mostly talk (though it lacks a chorus) reflecting the dumb struggle of wills against each other and against themselves. One of the women remains off-stage—a mere malign force. Their presence together would open the gate for horror. Often the restless coughing of the audience was the most significant action of the play. Neither the physical nor psychological basis can here be staged nor does the remarkable deftness of author and actors hide this fact. But I think no one can deny that the drama provides a vivid evening.

Yet one leaves little purged by the tragedy, nor much illuminated. The essence of perversion is that most of us are normal. It has not the universal force that creates a Lear or a Medea. The Captive therefore leaves us essentially cold though full of an intellectual pity, and with the renewed conviction that the physician and psychiatrist are set aside by society to endure dealing with these misdirections of the *élan vitale*. The question remains whether the play is worth doing either as drama or education. It does preach tolerance for these sick humans when Irene herself pleads that she must be "cured." The entire drama points the lesson that marriage under those conditions is but "a shell and a mockery." But it gives no clue either to avoiding the disease or sparing the innocent. On the whole the play is dangerous, however sincere. It arouses curiosity that might otherwise sleep on.

LEON WHIPPLE

Books You Need Not Read

YOU may be humanly curious about two books rumored to be scandalous: The Whispering Gallery, and Revelry. You need not be. Both are stupid and useless. The Whispering Gallery, presented as the inside gossip of an "ex-diplomat," turned out to be a journalistic venture that could not find a father and so was promptly withdrawn by the John Lane Company in London. The American publishers have not, we believe, followed this excellent example. This pseudo-gossip is unpleasant and pointless; and often impresses the reader as pure invention. If true, it is insignificant; if false, it is cruel and indecent. The time spent in this gallery is not only wasted, but invites disgust.

In Revelry, Samuel Hopkins Adams, who did do valiant service against evil medical advertising years ago, has written a poor novel around certain thinly-disguised persons and events in the recent history of graft at the national Capitol. Willis Markham, President of the United States, a little in love, a little befuddled from drink, and greatly loyal to his "friends," is the main character. He ends just on the verge of exposure in a kind of involuntary suicide. The revelation of Washington intrigue and the technique of corruption might conceivably have had real educational value for our indolent public opinion had not the mixing of fiction with anonymous fact blunted the book either for evidence or moral lessons.

This fashion of putting living people into novels seems futile—sometimes dangerous. H. G. Wells says he named names because William Clissold was the kind of man who would normally meet Dean Inge and Bernard Shaw in real life. Edna Ferber's mention of certain celebrities seems a touch of gay insouciance though one of these borrowed characters got the publishers to alter the text of Show Boat. Fiction and biography do not mix.

The people of the United States need to be instructed on the personal lives and corrupt devices of some of their governors, and aroused to correct both. But will a shadowy fiction arouse them when they are unmoved by the real names and dates set down in Congressional investigation and court records? It is fair to Mr. Adams to presume his pen was inspired by indignation, but it brought forth only a melange of innuendo and dismal pictures of our masters at their unbraced ease, tippling, playing poker, chasing women. Here is neither white rage nor judicial prosecution. Plain folk will get nothing but the mild snigger at backstairs gossip, and a reenforcement of their cynicism with respect both to dishonesty in government and indifference in the governed.

REVELRY, *by Samuel Hopkins Adams. Boni and Liveright. 318 pp Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE WHISPERING GALLERY, *by An Ex-Diplomat. Boni and Liveright. 288 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Are Mormons People

IF Mr. Snowden's treatise was written for social science it merits little recognition. He is too much concerned with calling names. Mormonism is nonsense, illusion, and Joseph Smith (he calls him "Joe") was a "deceiver," "dreamer," "peepstone expert," "money digger." Brigham Young was a sensuous man with a "coarse and hard nature," "blunt and blinded by self-interest." The Mormons are to be pitied but can be saved if we hurry. What is needed is "a bright and burning Christianity," to "kindle and purify" their "dull and degenerate faith." Nothing is told of the social life of the Mormons, nor of family life, and that unique social experiment in community life, the Mormon village, is not mentioned.

Wouldn't it be refreshing to have some scientist see the Mormons as just people no more to be blamed or pitied than a hundred other *isms* in our land? Our problem is to understand them and Mr. Snowden helps us little. He fell like many before him into the pit of emotionalism, accepting anything as proof so long as it lambastes the L.D.S. He could have written his magnus opus without having visited Utah or even meeting a Mormon. Indeed he could have written it without leaving the New York Public Library.

NELS ANDERSON

"THE TRUTH ABOUT MORMONISM," *by James H. Snowden. Doran. 369 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

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Havoc Wrought by the Shorter Work Day in Steel

1886. "At present every ton of pig-iron made in the world, except at two establishments, is made by men working in double shifts of 12 hours each, having neither Saturday nor holiday the year round."

Andrew Carnegie, in The Forum, Vol. I. p. 544.

1908. "The tendency with respect to both hours and Sunday work in the steel industry in Pittsburgh has been, for fifteen years, towards an increase. . . . The community . . . is getting only the tired-out leavings of some of its best men."

From the first local presentation of the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey, by the director. Pittsburgh, November 16.

1909. "1. An altogether incredible amount of overwork by everybody, reaching its extreme in the 12-hour shift for seven days in the week in the steel mills and the railway switch yards."

By Edward T. Devine, editor, giving "The Gist of the Pittsburgh Survey," in its magazine publication in Charities and the Commons (predecessor of The Survey), March 6, p. 1035.

1910. "The 12-hour day is the working schedule for the majority . . . and the 24-hour shift comes once every two weeks for large numbers. . . . Many a steel worker has said with grim bitterness 'Home is just the place where I eat and sleep. I live in the mills'."

John A. Fitch, The Steel Workers, pp. 200, 201; Findings of the Pittsburgh Survey, Russell Sage Foundation, 6 vols.

1912. "I believe that we should condemn the 12-hour day, and indicate that we are willing to support a movement for a shorter work day in our great industry."

From letter of Charles M. Cabot addressed to stockholders of the U.S. Steel Corporation, March 26, 1912.

1912. "We are of the opinion that a 12-hour day of labor, followed continuously by any group of men for any considerable number of years, means a decreasing of the efficiency and lessening of the vigor and virility of such men."

Report of Stockholders' Committee of the U.S. Steel Corporation, William H. Mathews, Secretary, adopted at annual stockholders' meeting, April 15, 1912.

1913. "It is believed that unless competing iron and steel manufacturers will also enforce a less than 12-hour day the effort to reduce the 12-hours per day at all our works will result in losing a large number of our employees."

From report of Finance Committee of U.S. Steel Corporation at annual meeting of stockholders, April 21, 1913. (This assumed no adequate wage adjustment for tonnage men in making the change.)

1919. "3. Eight-hour day
"4. One day's rest in seven
"5. Abolition of 24-hour shift."

From the "demands" of the striking steel workers.

1920. "None can dispute the demoralizing effects on family life and community life of the inhuman twelve-hour day."

Report on the Steel Strike of 1919, p. 65. Interchurch World Movement; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, chairman; Heber Blankenhorn, secretary.

1921. "The steel industry is still a 12-hour industry. To a lesser extent it is still a 7-day industry. Men who work until they are tired out, to whom life is a continual round of work, eat and sleep, have little time or thought for civic affairs, for matters pertaining to the common good."

Fitzpatrick in the New York World. Copyright 1926

From Three Shifts in Steel: The Long Day and The Way Out; a special number of The Survey presenting the results of preliminary studies by The Cabot Fund: John A. Fitch, Whiting Williams, S. Adele Shaw. Mar. 5. John A. Fitch, The Survey March 5, 1921, p. 791.

1922. "The desirability of abandoning the two-shift lies not in the extent to which it is used but in the fact that the twelve-hour shift day is too long when measured by twentieth century ideas as to the proper conduct of industry."

The Twelve-Hour Shift in Industry, by the Committee on Work Periods in Continuous Industries of the Federated American Engineering Societies, H. E. Howe, chairman, presenting the results of studies carried on under the direction of Morris L. Cooke by Horace B. Dury, Bradley Stoughton and others, made under grant from the Cabot Fund, pp. 5-6.

1922. President Harding urges steel companies to abandon twelve-hour day. Judge Gary as president of American Iron and Steel Institute appoints committee to consider it.

1923. "If the twelve hour day in the iron and steel industry should be abandoned at present, it would increase the cost of production on the average about fifteen per cent; and there would be needed at least 60,000 additional employees."

From adverse report, committee American Iron and Steel Institute, May 25.

June 6—"The forces of organized religion in America are now warranted in declaring that this immorally indefensible regime of the 12-hour day must come to an end."

Statement issued by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches, Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

June 18—President Harding writes letter to Iron and Steel Institute expressing regret at decision and calling on institute to pledge itself to abandon twelve-hour day as soon as possible.

June 27—Directors of Iron and Steel Institute write President Harding of decision "to secure in the iron and steel industry of this country a total abolition of the twelve-hour day at the earliest time practicable."

August 3—Judge Gary announces that "manufacturers of iron and steel representing substantially the entire industry of this country will now begin the total elimination of the twelve-hour day."

Extra dividend of ¾ of 1 per cent paid to holders of common stock of the U.S. Steel Corporation.

1924. Officers of U.S. Steel Corporation announce in annual report complete abandonment of twelve-hour shift in February, 1924.

Extra dividend of 2 per cent paid to holders of common stock of U.S. Steel Corporation.

"We went over without a ripple. The striking thing about it was how easily it was done. There was no interference with production—nothing. It was a great surprise to us all."

Interview with official of a Pittsburgh steel company on abolition of 12-hour shift—quoted in article by S. Adele Shaw—Survey, Sept. 1, 1924, p. 568.

1925. Regular dividend on common stock of U.S. Steel Corporation raised from 5 to 7 per cent.

1926. *December 16—announcement by directors of U.S. Steel Corporation of an increase in common stock amounting to 40 per cent of present outstanding shares, and worth at par* $203,321,000, *to be distributed "as an extra special dividend to common stockholders."*

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EDITORIALS

ON December 13, Survey Associates held a dinner meeting to consider Water Power and the Social Stake in It at the Hotel Astor in New York city. When it was announced that Governor Smith of New York was to be the principal speaker, friends called up Robert W. deForest, president of Survey Associates and chairman of the meeting, to ask whether The Survey was a political organ, whether it was going into politics. "No, not that I know of," said Mr. deForest. He explained that The Survey is an educational institution, that it is a novel venture in crossing journalism with research and education, that it is a forum where men and women of many minds thrash out the social kernels of controversial issues, that as one of its elements it carries forward through the printed page the tradition of the New England town meeting. "It furnishes a platform," said Mr. deForest, and he impressed this fact upon the speakers, Elon H. Hooker, a Republican and president of the Hooker Electro-Chemical Company, Ann Dennis Bursch, member of the Living Cost Committee of the National League of Women Voters, and Governor Smith. They all took the cue. Each attempted to be non-controversial, non-political, to get at the social nub of their subjects. But all of them took it for granted that the most social way of tackling the water-power problem was the businesslike way.

Mr. Hooker had for his subject Muscle Shoals and Agriculture. He declared himself one of those "who do not believe in the government operation of anything." He felt that Muscle Shoals should be used in a businesslike way, the most efficient way to the end to which it had been dedicated. The great Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals had been built at extravagant cost during the war to produce nitrates for explosives, with the proviso that it should, when peace came, be devoted to taking nitrate out of the air for the production of agricultural fertilizers. When money is taken out of general taxes, an explanation is properly called for if it is used in the interest of any special class; in the case of Muscle Shoals, the situation is reversed. "You will have to explain in this case if you *don't* devote it to agriculture." Our farmers are taking nine million tons of nitrogen out of the soil each year. They are putting back about five and a half million tons. The fertilizer industry has a present capacity of only two hundred thousand tons. Men are afraid to invest in the industry because the farmers have not been educated to the use of concentrated fertilizers which could save them hundreds of millions a year. Muscle Shoals has a capacity of only forty thousand tons of nitrogen a year.

Mr. Hooker would have the government entrust the operation of the plants there to a small group of business men who would agree to serve for a reasonable share of the earnings. But he would then have the government use "all those great agencies of the government and the states which are represented in the national Department of Agriculture, the state departments of agriculture, the farm experiment stations all over the country connected with the railroads and the agricultural colleges" to break down the "sales-resistance" against concentrated fertilizer with the help of the advertising value of Muscle Shoals. As he saw it, this would be the businesslike way of using the people's investment in that great project.

Mrs. Bursch felt that the controversy between the partisan advocates of private or public ownership and operation of water powers was largely academic. As a representative of women as domestic engineers, her interest was in getting an abundant supply of electricity at rates low enough to enable women to use freely the electrical apparatus which eliminates drudgery. What was the businesslike way of going about the job? Why, to find out whether private or public operation would get the desired result in the most efficient—the most businesslike way! What she wanted was "yard-sticks with which to measure the relative value and economies of public and private ownership and operation of power sources." There were four great water-power undertakings which should be publicly owned and operated in the best way for comparison with the best private operations—the Seattle municipal plant, Boulder Canyon on the Colorado, Muscle Shoals, and the St. Lawrence. For Mrs. Bursch, business was not a question of ownership, but a technique—the best way of getting desired results.

GOVERNOR SMITH, too, wanted a businesslike way of handling the water-power resources still in actual possession of the people of New York. His address is printed in this issue. He, too, sees business as a technique. He has shown conspicuous power of invention in applying the best business technique to the administration of the state's business. He commands the respectful attention of men and women of all parties because he has a unique knowledge of the state's administrative history and machinery, and because he deals with the state's business with the same regard for the best business technique that the ablest business executives bring to the administration of the property of their stockholders. He was largely responsible for the New York Port Authority, a non-political instrumentality for handling public business in a businesslike way. The same conception he now applies to the problem involved in the development of

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the state's power resources. It is a conception in which business as a technique has scored one of its most significant triumphs.

THE United States Senate on December 13 crowded back the Phipps-Parker bill (Senate 2696) to authorize the appropriation for the Sheppard-Towner Act, from its strategic place as unfinished business to its former status on the calendar. The Senate has now set December 22 for adjournment over the holidays. The little group of very powerful men who use this policy of delay shrewdly prevent the bill from coming to a vote directly. They get it "talked out." The vote is on the date on which action shall be taken. They thus escape getting their names recorded for the long future as voting Nay. They practise evasion. If any of them die before the Senate reconvenes after New Year's, their voting record will be clear! This subterranean procedure, this permanent fear of a vote, emphasizes the great popularity of the Act. It is the price of the excessively safeguarded right of the Senate minority to delay, and what a price, in this case, if they are allowed to continue until Congress adjourns on March 4!

Since November 1921, when it was signed, the Act has had faithful friends enough voting steadly for it, to assure the needed funds. They are confident that the Phipps-Parker bill will pass as soon as it can reach a vote. Senator Wadsworth and other unwearied opponents have been defeated. But their terms do not expire until March 4. Now, therefore, is the time for men and women who wish to stop the preventable death of mothers and children in all the states, to use the mails, the press, the pulpit and platform and telephone. If then an early date is not set, they can form delegations to Washington to demand of their senators face to face an early favorable vote upon this life-saving measure.

THE recent decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the zoning ordinance of an Ohio village means that all our cities at last hold the responsibility for their growth and development in their own hands. In a masterly decision, the Court has shown that the police power must necessarily broaden in effect as new conditions and new functions arise, and that conditions in present-day cities may require restrictions on private property and private initiative that would have been burdensome a century ago. Until now the growth of every city has been more or less at the mercy of private interests, and these interests have worked mainly towards a continuous speculative increase in the value of ground rents. The Amber Realty Company, which defended the present case before the Supreme Court, argued against a zoning ordinance of Euclid, Ohio, which restricted a certain plot of land to residential use on the ground that it destroyed the much higher prospective value of this property for industrial uses. In upholding the right of the community to ensure its own orderly development, the Court pointed out "that the exclusion of buildings devoted to business, trade, etc., from the residential districts, bears a rational relation to the health and safety of the community"; indeed, the Court was even so far apprised of sound principles in community planning that it added: "Another ground [for such exclusion] is that the construction and repair of streets may be rendered easier and less expensive by confining the greater part of the heavy traffic to the streets where business is carried on."

All this is very heartening. Whether it marks a new epoch in American city development depends solely, now, on the extent to which voters and public authorities are prepared to act in the public benefit. In this case, the law has caught up with social need and on certain grounds has passed beyond current practice in zoning, where this practice is trimmed more closely to the demands of real estate interests than to the common welfare. What our cities now need are community planners who will use our best technical knowledge of city planning with a view to putting into effect the right plans and not merely the expedient ones.

THANKS to the New York State Housing Board the castles-in-the-air stage of slum clearance in Manhattan and Brooklyn has begun to give way to cost-accounting. In its preliminary report to Governor Smith—a document whose thirty-one pages are short on rhetoric but long on close figuring—the Board records the prevailing cost of land in the congested areas where it is proposed to build decent new tenements to replace the standing atrocities. Then it sketches briefly the options in tenement design: the familiar Metropolitan Life units, occupying 50 or 51 per cent of the ground area; more compact units occupying 58 per cent or, with a recreation court, 50 per cent; and more open units occupying about 48 per cent and 40 per cent. Each type of house, in five and six stories, is theoretically applied to each grade of land worth from six dollars to fifteen dollars a square foot. The resulting costs are worked out in rent per room per month.

Assuming that the computations were competently made —which is reasonable in view of the personnel of the commission, headed by Darwin R. James, and its advisers, who include Arthur C. Holden as architect, Walter Stabler, Alexander M. Bing, Clarence H. Holmes, and the New York Regional Plan Committee—this report gives the public for the first time some basis for judging what can and what can not be done in New York's slum areas. If local tax exemption is granted, it appears that there are some 2,000 city blocks on which it would be possible to build an economical type of six-story tenement to rent for not more than $12.50 per room per month—the maximum set by the housing law for building under the Board's authority. But it also appears that this relatively inexpensive house could not be built, even on the sixty-one blocks which were rated at less than $6 a square foot, to rent for less than $9.25 a room—which cuts the ground, so to speak, from under August Heckscher's proposed houses renting at $5 a room a month. But Mr. Heckscher has done a service in drawing attention to these hypothetical five-dollar rooms. Four rooms at $12.50 each a month come to $600 a year, and that is pretty high rent for a

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family with an income of $2,500. Yet, according to the estimate of the late Housing Commission [see The Survey, Feb. 15, 1924], two-thirds of the people of New York have family incomes of less than $2,500. Slum clearance on this basis seems to mean ousting the very poor from the disgraceful quarters they can afford, to make room for the relatively well-to-do in new tenements.

What is to become of the dispossessed? That is only one of the unanswered questions here. Will private capital come through? Will the limited-dividend companies proposed by the law [see The Survey, March 15, 1926] work without the credit resources of a state housing bank such as the governor originally proposed? Should wage-workers live in Manhattan anyway? Should the city subsidize houses rather than subways, or subways rather than houses, or both?

"CAPTAIN of the men of death" pneumonia stalks across this country each year, through the cold, wet seasons, by far the deadliest of the acute communicable diseases. Pneumonia is one of the oldest diseases in authentic medical history; as long ago as 1497 it was considered contagoius by Savonarola of Venice. Yet only recently has it been considered as a problem in preventive medicine. A recent report by Dr. C. J. Vaux, director of the department of public health of Pittsburgh, published in the Journal of the American Medical Association, gives the findings of an experiment in public health which is both new and encouraging.

In 1923 the official reports of the Department of Commerce charged Pittsburgh with a death rate from pneumonia higher than that of any other city in the United States, three times as high as the rate for the country as a whole. The following spring, on April 1, 1924, the city health department put into effect a modified quarantine of the disease, demanding the strict isolation of the patient until recovery or death, but without restrictions on other members of the household. Medical opinion generally had accepted the view that pneumonia is transmitted from person to person, but no definite step in "pneumonia control" had previously been taken in this country. The action in Pittsburgh was preceded by an educational campaign, and from the start there has been no complaint by physicians or others.

The pneumonia deathrate for 1924 (with nine months' trial of quarantine) was 331 per 100,000 as compared to 371 in 1923; in 1925 it fell to 264. The record of the first eleven months of 1926 shows a further decline to a rate of 168, in spite of the unusual amount of influenza and pneumonia which swept the country last spring.

The conclusion is too striking to be laid to chance fluctuation of seasons. Dr. Vaux, after due scientific reservation, feels that it is "encouraging and fully warrants a continuance of this first step in an attack on the pneumonias." The second step he recommends, to arouse the interest of the public and the physicians in preventing pneumonia, is also well under way in Pittsburgh. The third step, organized study of the still unknown factors in the epidemiology of pneumonia, such as its relation to common colds and influenza, to pollution of the air by smoke and gases, has been started. Scientific medicine still is without an answer to many questions about this disease; Dr. Vaux declares that it probably kills as large a proportion of the persons who contract it as was the case many years ago. Doubtless further research will clear up many of the present enigmas of cause and treatment; but in the meantime it seems clear that organized administration of the knowledge which already exists can save much costly illness and many lives.

WITH the signing of the agreement between Colonel Charles F. Johnson, vice-president of the Botany Worsted Mills, and representatives of the local organization of the United Textile Workers, the Passaic strike has virtually come to an end. The Botany settlement affects more than 6,000 striking employes. An equal number are at this writing still out on strike against other textile concerns in the Passaic market. It is generally believed that the other mills will soon follow Botany's lead and that the strike is over.

The strike began in Botany late in January, 1926, when the members of a committee who had gone to Colonel Johnson to protest a 10 per cent wage cut were summarily "fired" [see The Survey, April 1, p. 10]. Late in the summer the effective United Front Committee, the outlaw strike organization built up through the leadership of young Albert Weisbord, was handed over to the United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor, which, until that time, had not succeeded in getting a foothold in the Passaic district.

Under the agreement between the United Textile Workers' local and Colonel Johnson, the right of the workers to organize in "a legitimate association providing it is not of communist origin or purpose," and the right of collective bargaining are recognized. Both parties agree to submit any future dispute to a third party for arbitration. The strikers specifically say that they do not ask the closed shop. The mill management agrees not to discriminate against strikers, and to bring in no outside help until all the strikers are reemployed. Some weeks ago, the mills restored the 10 per cent wage cut.

There is no evidence that this agreement is grounded on any study of the actual conditions of the textile industry, of industrial relations or of the joint stake of management and labor in the process of production. It bears signs of a peace between two sharply divided sides, one snatching all it can get, the other grudgingly conceding the irreducible minimum. The mill owners, the mill workers and the community have lost heavily through the strike. All three elements rejoice in the signing of the agreement. But on the face of it, such an agreement is an armed truce, not a peace treaty. The underlying factors of a disorganized industry are still present—suspicion, distrust, ignorance of problems and motives, the sense of irreconcilable conflict, the failure to bridge the gulf between owner and worker through recognition of their common stake in the enterprise and through their pride and creative satisfaction in it. From that point of view, the Passaic strike is not ended. The economic problems out of which it emerged remain to be solved.

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THE REVOLUTION ON QUALITY STREET

(*Continued from page* 432)

Lyon Phelps and The Financial Situation by Alexander Dana Noyes. It offers contributions by notable scientists on the latest thought and discovery in their fields. These include George Ellery Hale, director of the Mount Wilson Observatory, Robert A. Millikan, Nobel prize-winner in physics, Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and Michael Pupin, whose remarkable From Immigrant to Inventor appeared first in Scribner's. The magazine has behind it the traditions and prestige of the House of Scribner which has been for almost fifty years under the present Charles Scribner. That itself is a distinction in this changing world.

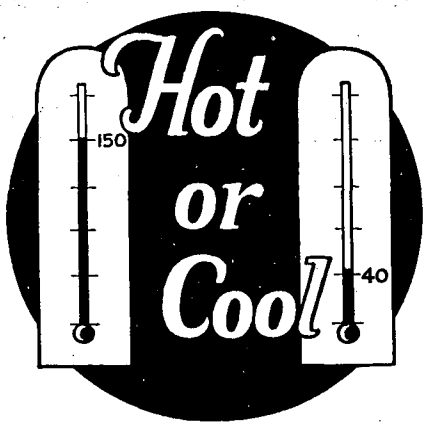
But we hope that as the magazine slowly adjusts to modern desires, it will never lose its amatur spirit, always perhaps its most charming note. The new quality magazine seems to get three kinds of contributors: the recognized literary artists like Galsworthy or Edith Wharton; the professional journalist or free-lance like William Allen White or Henry Mencken; and the non-literary expert who writes as a by-product of his profession or experience like, shall we say William Beebe, or Dr. Hale. Scribner's adds a fourth—youth (and age!) that wants to be literary in poem, personal essay, or travel sketch. They are true amateurs who have been a-fishing or gathering local color or have won out of living a picturesque and humane experience and seek to put it in words. Such types are the backbone of a real culture. Scribner's welcomes them and so has won an air of gay freshness and gentle breeding that comes with doing a thing for love, not money. I trust Mr. Bridges sustains his ardor in pursuit of these shy fish. Last New Year he showed me an envelop scrawled in red pencil "9716"—the end of the 1925 manuscript crop that totals some 12,000 items, for poets often put a whole sheaf of verses in one cover! He accepts perhaps 100. Edited with vision and soundness, Scribner's sustains its old fame.

THE "new Forum" is the most revolutionary of them all, for it has a revoultionary faith in ideas, democracy, and discussion. It is simply living up to its name. Nor is it fearful of the aftermath of the Little Red School House. The editor says, "There is a new national self-consciousness and as a consequence a general discussion of questions that have hitherto been left to the expert." It has a definite program for exploring modern thought, and is making brilliant experiments in the technique of public discussion, seeking to encourage what the engineers call "technological methods of thought" on social problems. It wants to inform the individual, believing that this will make for progress and reconciliation.

Henry Goddard Leach, driving force of the magazine, told me three things: "Editors have discovered that people are more intelligent than we thought they were." Next, the sub-title of The Forum has been changed from "A Magazine of Discussion" to "A Magazine of Controversy"—and that is more serious than going from a buff to a red or a green cover. It took courage, for controversy demands thinking, not iconoclasm. People like fights. Yet these fights are not staged for sensationalism or mere drama, and so they escape the sterile end of some of the muckraking. Then there is this letter from a man out in California.

Dear Sir—I am a sick man. My doctors give me only five years to live. And they say I must have peace of mind. To give me that you will have to do something about The Forum. It is too damn exciting.

This suggests a grace note: The Forum had a few over 2,000 readers on July 1, 1923, was selling 20,000 or so on January 1, 1925, and over 63,000 for March, 1926. There is certainly an audience for threshing things out, openly and honestly. It is only scientific to add that an intensive and costly promotion campaign helped this response. Last spring, I undestood this campaign was temporarily stopped for The Forum faced that queer magazine paradox of getting too many readers too fast. The advertising rate couldn't be jumped to meet the circulation expenses. Yet even in advertising, The Forum is gaining.



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BORZOI BOOKS

The principal Forum idea is simple, but dangerous. You just take the thorniest issue you can find and get two equally strong articles from experts in the opposing camps. Then let the reader make up his own mind. The Forum has as yet revealed no propaganda of its own unless tolerance and open-minded scrutiny make a propaganda. The job takes back-bone, for The Forum debates do not side-step into discussion of the iota subscript, or how short skirts should be, or the family life of the dodo. They grasp instead the thistle of the Catholic Church and the American State; the Ku Klux Klan; or Fundamentalism versus Evolution. It printed an attack on the Klan and then got the head wizard (or something) to write a reply—his first public statement. It is more civilized than The Mercury, for when did Mr. Mencken print the side of George Babbitt or Judge Gary or Wayne B. Wheeler? The Forum always seeks the best possible proponent of the institution, creed, or program. It is a dangerous pastime, for with each pair of articles you run the risk of losing all your subscribers. First, you offend all the pros and next, impartially, all the cons. You are the unhappy umpire at whom both sides take a crack. Yet it doesn't work that way. People read. One traveller reports that everywhere in Italy the Catholic clergy are reading The Forum. Wise old Mother Church! And at home, it begins to look as if there were a lot of intelligent and open-minded folk in these lambasted United States. Such tolerance may mean the end of the post-war partisan propaganda. And that *would* be a revolution—on both Main and Quality Streets.

FOR, make no error, The Forum is interested in Main Street. It doesn't want to be called high-brow. Indeed, Mr. Leach revealed to me that he really wants to be low-brow. He would like to play teacher to anybody who can read and think. He is proud as Punch because his clippings tallied up about a million newspaper circulation of reprints from a Forum article on bath-tubs as an index of civilization. Mr. Leach has long been vastly interested in adult education. He thinks there are at least 200,000 potential readers of what may be called, without discourtesy, The Saturday Evening Post group, who are not now getting a monthly of intelligence and vividness. This layer is not highly educated or broadly cultured, but the members think and they want to know.

To show Editor Leach's use of low-brow devices, consider prize contests. The tabloids have them—cross-word puzzles, limericks, names of the presidents, ad. lib. The Forum lifts the stunt and offers prizes for definitions of certain popular vague terms that are bandied all over the world. The first three were: *Americanism, success, immoral.* Well, if The Forum can set us straight on just those three it will not have lived in vain. The tabloids invited guest critics from their readers to "do the pictures." The Forum printed book-reviews from its readers. The game did not work on either level. This all proves how Mr. Leach is willing to trade the *intelligenzia* (labelled) for the intelligent (run of the mine). He is anxious to get more drive, pep and punch into The Forum, yet retain its present authority and urbanity.

Because of this vision The Forum is thinking farther ahead than any other magazine we know. There is a serial or logical intent about everything here. It is beginning by getting the words we use clear—which is part of a long-time process. Its successive issues are planned, and planned to reach conclusions and keep people thinking on long-time problems. Matters are not dropped because they have lost their zip, nor taken up before they are ripe. "Spot news" interest is not the test.

Mr. Leach is puzzled but expectant. He says his recent symposium on education left him as bewildered as ever. He will certainly experiment. Fiction is "a side-dish," but a hearty one, if much of it be like Robert Herrick's novel Chimes—a running debate on education. History and biography are to be included as parts of education; for no matter where the grand tour of the mind leads, it has to start from here, and with mere men as couriers. There are pictures, and will be more—"blacks and whites from all over the world." I suspect other art dreams in the back of his head. He wrote not long ago an editorial note that was plainly a plea for a philosophy of life. The secret of The Forum is: it has one.

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That suggests the final question: What is the philosophy of the new Quality Group? They believe they have a vast educational duty. Mr. Wells told me this very illuminatingly:

> In them a tremendous amount of new knowledge has been disseminated. They reach a public so large that their influence seems to me greater than that of any except a few books. . . . In the field of science, of education, of industry, history, and biography, and in their human documents . . . they exert a very great social force. Mr. Theodore N. Vail once said to me that he had gotten more education from reading Harper's Magazine than he ever had from all the school books he studied. We bring to our readers the best thought of the world's best minds on the subjects about which they will probably never write books. If they did write such books their sale would probably not reach ten thousand copies.

In other ways, the quality editors set down no faith except Mencken's unfaith. It is exceedingly hard to find out what they believe. I asked every editor I met whether he had a special creed or program to advocate. The vigor of their denials left me feeling distinctly ill-bred. I had impugned their liberalism. I sometimes think we are over-stocked with the liberalism that believes nothing, and folks might still welcome an intelligent fanatic—if such exists. The quality purpose seems to be: "To be interesting on vital aspects of modern life." The definition of *vital* is not revealed, whether in humanitarian or biological, or economic terms. There is objectively (the Mercury again excepted) a tempered faith in democracy, a self-conscious tolerance, and a leaning towards conservatism in government and economics.

WE must note that though the old, cheap muckraking group rose and waned without ruffling the feathers of the quality, now in the next decade the Quality Group that was in large degree impregnable to the influences of radicalism is going hell-bent for Life. But they are interested in individual rather than social problems, and people rather than institutions . . . or perhaps they are concerned with institutions that the individual most directly depends on. Their interest is subjective rather than objective, personal rather than social. They do not tamper with the tariff or municipal corruption or the Passaic strike, but with marriage and religion. Their articles deal with the isues which have proverbially been the concerns of the short-story writer and the novelist—the internal struggle of the individual. These are the issues of the study, the porch-chair and the dinner-table rather than of the city hall and the voting booth. A man's own concerns rather than his community's or the other fellow's; Main Street rather than the stock-yards; Sinclair Lewis rather than Upton Sinclair.

The muckrakers attacked politcs in government and the economic evils in frenzied finance, monopolies, and the interlocking control of business and politics. They did not get very far, as a glance at Tea Pot Dome or Philadelphia will reveal. Now the search after a remedy has penetrated deeper into the causes, and so the institutions we find most discussed are the church, the school, the press, and the home—divorce, children versus parents, the jazz youth, and foolish matrons. The idea is that, after all, it is the person, his character, that causes the trouble in government and business, and if we can correct the individual we shall correct the institutional symptoms. In earlier days everybody took it for granted that the single democrat was all right, and so were his church, his school, and his home. But something was wrong with "the System." And so the interests of reform were civic where now they are psychological.

Why the quality pages surrendered to psychology when they didn't to sociology is hard to say. We have shown above they had lost their old contents and had to find something else. It is a more literary approach to life and so befits magazines of that kind where the relation to the reader has always been more personal than social. Much of the answer is in the changes that have taken place in the public's heart and mind since the war. It is said that during the War, Harper's avoided the War—set out to offer a tranquil escape from the prevailing dour preoccupations. This was the epitome of the old *belles lettres* idea. But it didn't work. Here is a sort of great divide—and on this side people are psychologically minded. It is shown by the shift in the treatment of science. Harper's and Scribner's claimed it as their own in the older

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tradition. The Forum thinks it has found a new method of approach. But the most characteristic change is the science Mr. Wells puts in Harper's now. It has not to do with the heavens, but with a man's insides. And so, indeed, answering the *weltgeist* these magazines are all interested in men's insides.

But no one need be discouraged over the country's mental health as revealed in these magazines. We have lost some things,—temporarily, I hope. But we always do—in revolutions. It seems a reflection on our taste that we can so easily give up the pictures and certain kinds of lovely and meditative *belles lettres*. It is an unbalanced ration to give up pure joyous entertainment to the popular periodicals, or to out-door sports. There is a real need for cultural entertainment that is neither too smart nor dependent too much on the intellect. There is a way of looking at the world that is restful because it does not wonder what it is all about or where we are going. This age, of all, needs a sort of mystic contemplation.

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32,000 R. P. M.

(*Continued from page* 448)

In spite of the strength of the union men, their unions had never been officially recognized and no collective contracts had been signed. The manager called attention to the rule laid down by the War Labor Board that "in establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together and the employer meets only with employes or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance," and appealed to the union men to conform to this rule, in the drafting of which their national officers had shared, by cooperating in the establishment of a company or family union without prejudice to their trade union membership.

What would have happened if the dominant group, the machinists, had at that time formulated their policy of union-management cooperation based upon a federation of crafts, which they later initiated in the locomotive repair shops of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Canadian National and other railroads, is an interesting subject for speculation. They had not; and until some years later, under fundamentally changed conditions, the company union in the Sperry factory was not formed.

The management then took a step which is of major importance in the current evolution of industrial government. It added to its executive staff a number of men who had been trained in the school of scientific management. These men initially approached the problem of eliminating craft-jurisdictional barriers from an entirely different angle than that of "industrial democracy." From the point-of-view of management, the great obstacle to unified production control was the exclusive possession by the individual workmen of the special craft skill required in the execution of particular jobs. The first step in overcoming this obstacle was resort to "job analysis" and related methods of gathering and transferring this individual craft knowledge to a central planning and methods

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division under direct control of management itself. In the language of Taylor, they "gathered in all the great mass of traditional knowledge which in the past had been in the hands of the workmen and in the physical skill and knack of the workman" in order that their solutions of craft problems might be available for them and the management when similar problems arose, precisely as the laboratory experiments of the research staff were secured against loss through forgetfulness or absence of records. Thereafter, instead of turning new orders over to the factory or production superintendent and leaving him to take up sections and segments with foremen and workmen, the general specifications were analyzed into their details by the central planning department, reduced to working blueprints and issued directly to the workmen with specific instructions as to how the work was to be done. Nothing was any longer left to the knack or free initiative of the shop force. Suggestions for improving work methods were, of course, welcomed, but they could not be adopted without executive approval and when adopted were added to the central store as the property of the management. This process is what is known in scientific management parlance as the "transference of skill," a term which when used by engineers often refers exclusively to the transfer of knowledge from management to wage-workers and fails to take account of the initial transference of skill from the workmen to management.

An essential adjunct of centralized skill and production control is a similarly centralized system of cost accounting which enables the management to predetermine not only the cost of materials but also the standard cost of labor on each part of the ultimate product. This precise knowledge of costs becomes the basis for an individual system of wage rates as against the level craft rate generally demanded by the unions. Under pressure of this centralized scientific technique, the traditional craft lines gave way. The production organization from stores, costs, planning and routing to the individual work methods became a unified, over-all organization. Thus it was inevitable that any organized system of industrial relations that might be developed would be a counterpart of the production organization, developed in response to the demand of the product—scientific instruments—as conditions of their dependable behavior. It was so, as a matter of fact, that in due course the Industrial Association or company union did come. This is the new thing in industry which the craft unions' "one suit of clothes" no longer quite fits.

This reorganization of the man-power in the image of and in response to the demands of the machine almost always encounters strong resistance on the part of men who have grown up in the craft tradition and who, like other business men, have united to control the market for their skill. Its effect upon their economic status is similar to that of the introduction of any machine to replace the individual skill of hand labor. Too frequently this resistance is met by the arbitrary exercise of the management's vested right to hire and fire at will. In the case of the Sperry factory there was no need or desire to smash the trade union. Indeed an attempt was made to lay the groundwork for future cooperation. But the management like the unions had not yet assimilated the implications of the modern cooperative idea. It still clung to the "family" tradition as the unions cling to the strictly bargaining tradition. Meanwhile the strength of the unions was largely dissipated by an internal conflict between the local organization of the most powerful union, the machinists', and their grand lodge or national office and by the sudden signing of the armistice which cut off war demand and entailed a drastic reduction in the size of the working force.

But the principal instrument used by the management to overcome this resistance was a personnel department through which the same scientific technique which had been applied to the development of the gyro-compass was applied to the analysis and understanding of the reactions of the men to the new conditions. Where, as in the case of the eight-mirrored rotor designed to spin at a uniform speed of 32,000 R. P. M., and which has actually attained a speed of slightly more than 40,000 revolutions per minute, the dependable behavior of the instrument depends in turn upon the behavior of workmen possessed of superlative tactile sensitiveness, the exercise of arbitrary power to force men into reluctant obedience is a hazardous and wasteful procedure.

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Certain members of the Sperry management gave thought to the fact that when a gyro-compass fails to perform as a compass should, it is not "fired" but studied, until the difficulty is understood and understandingly corrected. They decided to approach the resistance of the men in the same spirit. The personnel department was set up as the department of human engineering to get at the laws governing the behavior of men. And so in this factory, the machine, which at one moment threatened to involve men in discord and brute conflict, as a condition of dependable behavior, lead the management to the scientific consideration of human behavior—with results which when generally understood and applied in the conduct of industrial government will have an even greater effect upon the progress of civilization than the successful application of the gyroscopic principle to the stabilization and steering of ships.

ARE WE MAKING RED SLAVES?

(*Continued from page* 455)

neither the Indian nor any court is entitled to an accounting, and no accounting has ever been made to Congress. To reverse the statement: The Bureau has arbitrary power to lease any allotted land to white men, to sell any land belonging to a dead allottee, to determine the descent of allotted land or of its cash proceeds, and to eject any allotted Indian from his allotment in favor of a white man; and all sums derived from these transactions are unreviewably controlled by the Bureau.

Only Congress can review the Indian Bureau. To prevent that review, the Bureau systematically employs all the kinds of power specified above, the most useful instrument for swaying Congress being, of course, the unreviewable fiscal power. The Bureau does not purchase congressmen, but through indirect means it controls constituencies, and again through inrect means it dominates institutions which have the control of public opinion.

The most important of these institutions are the home mission boards of the churches. The Bureau, both by direct use of its absolute authority and by indirect means, can make or ruin the work of a mission society. The recapitulation of the Bureau powers, remembering that they are not theoretical but actual powers used here and now, will give the reader his clues. But to be definite, suggesting only that the incidents now to be mentioned are factors cooperating with many other factors:

Two national home mission agencies have for four years strenuously defended the Indian Bureau system and the officials at its head. One of these, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, was receiving, in 1924, $190,000 a year from the trust funds of restricted Indians, not illegally but under rules and regulations of the Interior Department and essentially through the voluntary act of the Indian commissioner. The subsidy continues; the facts are not reported in the commissioner's annual report or in the bureau's yearly statement to the Appropriations Committee.

And in 1923, through the action of the present authorities in the Indian Bureau, the other mission agency (the American Baptist Home Mission Society) was designated to receive immediately $550,000 of trust money belonging to an aged, illiterate Cherokee Indian stated to be a half-wit in the Bureau's own confidential reports. An equal sum, $550,000, was designated to a woman stated in the bureau's confidential reports to have kidnapped the aged Jackson Barnett, made him drunk, married him, and brought him to Washington where the above-told division of his estate was arranged by the Bureau officials although the Bureau reports were then in their possession. Details are given in the Congressional Record, April 23, 1926, where excerpts from Secretary Hubert Work's letter to the President and from the confidential Bureau's reports were spread in the record.

SENATOR WHEELER and Representative Frear introduced, last February, two significant bills. One bill declared that Indian wills should be held sacred—should be invalidated only in the courts, and on the basis of proof of fraud, undue influence, or mental incapacity. The other bill required that before Indian properties were sold or leased by the Indian Bureau, appraisal should be carried out; there should be public bidding, and sale to the highest bidder only. And before the bureau could decree an Indian "incapable," and put him off his land in favor of a white man, the Indian should be entitled to a court review of fact and reasonableness. These bills were timid first measures toward ending the financial enslavement of Indians.

The Bureau instantly opposed and blocked both bills, though advancing no relevant arguments on either. This action was conclusive with the House Committee on Indian Affairs.

Senator LaFollette and Representative Frear introduced a bill extending the federal and state civil and criminal laws to Indians; giving jurisdiction to the federal courts; authorizing the federal courts to hold valid, in the court's discretion, the tribal custom law and tribal authority of Indian groups over the conduct of their members; and forbidding the bureau hereafter to imprison Indians without legal process. The bureau blocked this bill. It abstained from argument; it simply negatived the bill, Assistant Commissioner Edgar F. Meritt reminding the Indian Affairs Committee (House) that such due process of law for Indians might entail expense.

Meantime the Bureau drove hard behind a bill of its own, Bureau-drafted but introduced by Chairman Scott Leavitt of the House Indian Committee. This bill, H.R.7826, proposed a new statutory validation of the Bureau's acknowledged practise of jailing Indians without trial. The bill legalized this practise for terms up to six months and fines up to a hundred dollars. Any Bureau subordinate, if named by an Indian superintendent, could be the "judge." The bill particularly contemplated "Indian judges," employed by the superintendents, who are paid $10 a month. What procedure, and what code of law, or whether there should be any procedure or any code, was left to the Bureau's plenary control. The Leavitt bill struck a more radical blow at the Indians. It illegalized their tribal customs and tribal authority. The language was explicit and comprehensive. This portion of the bill demanded a reversal of Congressional policy as defined by the Supreme Court—the policy of tolerating the tribal cultures and leaving to the Indians the regulation of their own internal affairs insofar as no conflict with federal statute existed. The Bureau has illegally warred against every form of tribal life through years, and the proscription is now at its intensest; the Leavitt bill would have thrown Congress behind the persecution.

The Bureau's bill did not pass; the struggle is on again in the short session. Meantime the Bureau legally continues to use its power to jail Indians and illegally continues its work of crushing the tribal life.

Through two other examples, the slave-status of Indians was brought to the fore in the last Congress.

There is a place in northern Arizona which Theodore Roosevelt called the God-forsakenest spot in the United States. Here, at Lee's Ferry, is the crossing from the south to the north rim of the Grand Canyon. It is not God-forsaken, because all this land is awful in beauty. But man-forsaken

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it is. Westward on the public domain, there is no tree for forty miles and only one house in fifty-six miles. Eastward, on the Navajo reservation, the traveller goes thirty-five miles before he sees the first sheep or the first lonely Navajo hogan. It is absolute desert—marvelous, eternally vacant, painted desert.

The National Park Service and the Fred Harvey transportation system have wanted a bridge over Lee's Ferry to connect the south with the north rim. Arizona wants it too, and yet when the Indian Bureau advised Congress to build the bridge and make the Navajo Indians pay for it, Senator Cameron of Arizona broke from the administration fold and shouted "highway robbery" on the Senate floor. The "robbery" was accomplished.

Seven years ago, testifying before the House Indian Committee, Assistant Commissioner Meritt had admitted that more than three million dollars in improper reimbursable charges had been laid against the Indians. These charges, in virtually every case or in every case initiated or consented to by the Bureau, are mortgages against the Indian property, incurred without the Indians' consent and usually without their knowledge, to obtain from the United States treasury the money for improvements wholly or chiefly of benefit to white men: money for bridges, for roads, for irrigation systems. In 1919 the debt exceeded $23,000,000 and over $8,000,000 had been collected from the Indians before 1919. In the case of the Navajos, the mortgage totals about $850,000 today, about $450,000 being a charge for white men's bridges and white men's roads and water systems. The Navajo tribal fund when the Lee's Ferry item was jammed through Congress was $116,000 against which a mortgage of $700,000 stood before the Lee's Ferry charge was piled on top of the rest.

The Indian Bureau had started promoting the Lee's Ferry reimbursable scheme in 1925, when Secretary Hubert Work had assured Congress that this bridge "would benefit the Indians as much as the white settlers," a true statement because there are no white settlers and there is no benefit to the Indians. But the Navajo Indians were left ignorant of the project by their guardian.

THE final case illustrating Indian slavery must be briefly given, though it constitutes the biggest legislative question affecting Indians since many years. If the statements appear incredible, the reader may corroborate them from the House and Senate Indian Committee hearings on the Indian oil bill, and the House and Senate debates on that bill.

About three-fifths of the whole Indian estate is executive order reservation. Since 1868, practically all Indian reservations have been created by presidential decree. Three-fifths of the New Mexico pueblo land is executive-order; all the Arizona pueblo land; all the land of the Apache Indians; three-fifths of all the Navajo land; most of the reservation land near or west of the Rocky mountains.

A large oil activity is beginning on the executive area of the Navajos; oil prospecting permits are being sought on the New Mexico pueblo lands.

In 1923, Albert B. Fall as secretary of the Interior decreed that all these Indian executive lands were nothing but public domain, whose surface the Indians occupied as tenants by executive suffrance. His ruling was nullified after Attorney-General Stone had declared it to be legally untenable. However, Congress had, and has, the acknowledged power to fix the status of Indian lands—to establish or disestablish the Indians as owners. Under these circumstances, what steps did the Indian Bureau take on its wards' behalf?

The Bureau, through Commissioner Burke, appeared before Congress last February and urged the passage of a bill (the Bratton-Hayden Indian oil bill) whose surface intent and effect was to donate to the state governments 37½ per cent of the Indian royalties obtained from executive order areas. The white oil operators were not to be taxed at all; the 37½ per cent Indian tax was to pay their taxes too.

Behind the surface intent and effect of this bill was an implication far more startling. The bill proposed a gift by the United States of 37½ per cent of the executive order royalties to the states. Such action by Congress would have presumed the correctness of the Albert B. Fall theory that Indians are not owners but merely tenants by executive suffrance on the executive reservations. It was proved and never controverted,

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ARE WE MAKING RED SLAVES?

(*Continued from page 475*)

in the hearings and on the Senate and House floor, that the bill would in fact have enacted—established—the Fall theory and scheme. In other words, the Bureau-endorsed bill meant the prospective confiscation of 22,000,000 acres more or less of Indian land.

This time the Bureau had overreached itself. Its attempt, and the methods it used, will have grave consequences to the Bureau. Its bill was defeated utterly; Bureau endorsement was extorted for a precisely opposite bill. The Cameron-Frear bill (the LaFollette sub-committee substitute for the Bureau bill) was passed, leaving with the Indians all their royalties; authorizing the states to tax them and the oil operators in equal ratios but never higher than the tax-rate of the given state; and of greatest importance, vesting in effect the executive reservation titles in the Indians. The executive was forbidden thenceforward to tamper with reservation boundaries. The Cameron-Frear bill was vetoed by the President on the sole stated ground that equities claimed by certain old and new applicants for oil permits had not been protected. Congress, it is expected, will pass the vetoed bill in the short session, and the President is expected to sign it.

Readers may say: "The oil raid may have been piracy, it may have been betrayal, but wherein does it exemplify slavery?" Congress partly learned the answer.

A fantastic menace very nearly became law. Properly it was a life-and-death issue to numerous tribes. And during the whole struggle in Congress, lasting four months, the Bureau enforced on the reservations so complete an espionage that the great Navajo tribe, for example, remained completely uninformed, inarticulate, while at Washington the Bureau was placing the Navajos on record as endorsing the Bureau bill—yea, as being willing to surrender 50 per cent of their royalties to the states. The great Zuni tribe in New Mexico had every acre at stake. The Zunis were successfully denied the right to petition and their effort to register against the oil bill was suppressed, with the seizure in the public plaza, by Bureau agents, of the tribe's copies of the bills and Congressional Records. The Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos learned the facts, protested, and its voice reached Congress; whereupon the Bureau has attempted to form a new inter-pueblo council, meeting under Bureau auspices alone and on Bureau call, and in its announcement the Bureau has treated the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos as non-existent.

Now we come to the defense of the Indian system.

Secretary Hubert Work recently has issued a parallel-column eulogy of the Bureau. For reasons, doubtless, of esthetic contrast, he describes the conditions when he became secretary of the interior (1923), just in the way that the much denounced critics of the Bureau had described them. He does not mention that the critics today are the same persons and organizations who were the critics then, and he ignores their present criticisms; and he omits to state that the Indian Bureau chiefs are hold-overs from the Albert B. Fall regime.

But all is now well; no shortcomings, or neglect, or abuse, remains; within their admitted total absence of liberty, our Indians in this life have now entered the happy hunting ground. Secretary Work states: "United States Public Health Service methods in handling all medical, dental, sanitation, and hospital accommodations, have been installed."

The fact is that three excellent Public Health Service physicians have been installed, under Commissioner Burke, as supervisors of the Bureau medical service. Thus the Bureau has met the demand that federal responsibility for Indian health be transferred to the Public Health service. These three men are doing what they can do, amid fantastic medical conditions, to cope with a situation whose horror is imperfectly told in the vital statistics, such as they are. White death-rate, 12 per 1,000 per year. Death-rate among Indians at large, nearly 24 per 1,000 per year. Indian death-rate within the registration area steadily rising across the last three federal census years, through 1924. 17.5 per 1,000 in 1921, 19.2 per 1,000 in 1922, 22.5 per 1,000 in 1923, 25.9 per 1,000 in 1924. The Nebraska Indian death-rate, 46.6 per 1,000; the Wyoming Indian death-rate, 48.8 per 1,000; the Pima Indian death-rate in Arizona, from 1921 through 1925, complicated by no epidemic diseases, 59 per 1,000 per year. The Zuni deaths in 1924, from enteric infections alone, 57 per 1,000 of the population. Seventy thousand Indians suffered from infectious trachoma (based on Indian Bureau figures from the southwest trachoma campaign of 1924).

A recent visit by the writer, accompanied by Congressman James A. Frear, to thirteen Bureau jurisdictions, containing 22 reservations (from Montana to the Mexican line, and from eastern New Mexico to the Pacific) discovered just one Indian Bureau public health nurse or Bureau nurse doing work in the Indian homes. One medically trained field matron should be included. The Indians numbered about 58,000. (The reservations included the Crow, Fort Hall, the Paiutes, the western Navajo, all the Pueblos, White River Apaches, Hopi-Navajos, Pimas, Mojaves, and California which is here considered to be two reservations only.)

Hundreds of Indian children—above 900 in some schools—are crowded into non-reservation establishments where they work half the day and study half the day. Cross-infections rage. Navajo, Apache, Pueblo and other children, contracting tuberculosis, are sent home to die after, in the congestion of hogan and wickyup, they have infected their families. Back on the reservation, what are the provisions? The Western Navajo jurisdiction is an example. Seven thousand scattered Indians. One doctor, no hospital, no visiting nurse.

The Indian Bureau asked for a reduction of health appropriations for 1926. Nevertheless, Congress voted it a slight increase, to a total of $756,000 for all purposes. Budget analysis reveals that of the above total, $127,340 is available for field medical service including medical and nursing salaries, dentists, other specialists, drugs and appliances, transportation, and food and clothing for destitute sick Indians. There are 225,000 reservation Indians and 340,000 Indians altogether. Hospitalization, indefinitely insufficient in face of the cumulative morbidity, is the Bureau's answer to the public health worker's challenge.

IS the Public Health Service an Arabian Nights kind of statistician? I have before me a signed statement by Commissioner Burke of the Indian Bureau, dated October 22 last. He soars to the claim that the Bureau last year spent $1,190,529 on Indian medical service. Then he states that the patient-day cost in the Bureau hospitals ranges from $1.50 to $3.50. Then he states that the Bureau actually provided 523,599 patient-days for sick Indians last year. The average patient-day cost in tax-supported bureau hospitals is stated by the Bureau (House Appropriations hearings for 1926, p. 393) as $2.40, a low but practicable figure. That average patient-day cost, for Commissioner Burke's 523,599 patient-days, would exceed his total alleged expenditures by $66,108, with not a dollar spent on outpatient clinics, field doctors, nurses, sanitation or any type of field service.

I have barely the space to mention the educational propaganda of the Bureau. I quote from the Board of Indian Commissioners' report to the Secretary of the Interior, 1924. It describes the situation and policy of today.

> The present plan appears to be to reduce the reservation boarding-schools to taking care of the first three grades, while the children more advanced are sent to more distant schools. . . . These children are to be removed from even occasional contact with their parents, not only at an earlier age than has been the rule, but . . . the Navajo boy of ten years who is taken to Phoenix, for instance, . . . undergoes an intensity of heat that could never be known on his lofty plains. If he learns to farm here, it is in a country of irrigated soil, of cottton and semi-tropical fruits. . . . If his health survives the change, his spirit is less likely to do so.

Says Assistant Commissioner Meritt of the Indian Bureau (House Appropriations hearings, 1926, p. 324), "Due to a determined enforcement of the policy of requiring every healthy Indian child between the age of 6 and 18 to be in some school."

(*Continued on page 480*)

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If you have no further need for your Surveys of the following dates, will you be good enough to return them for our use?

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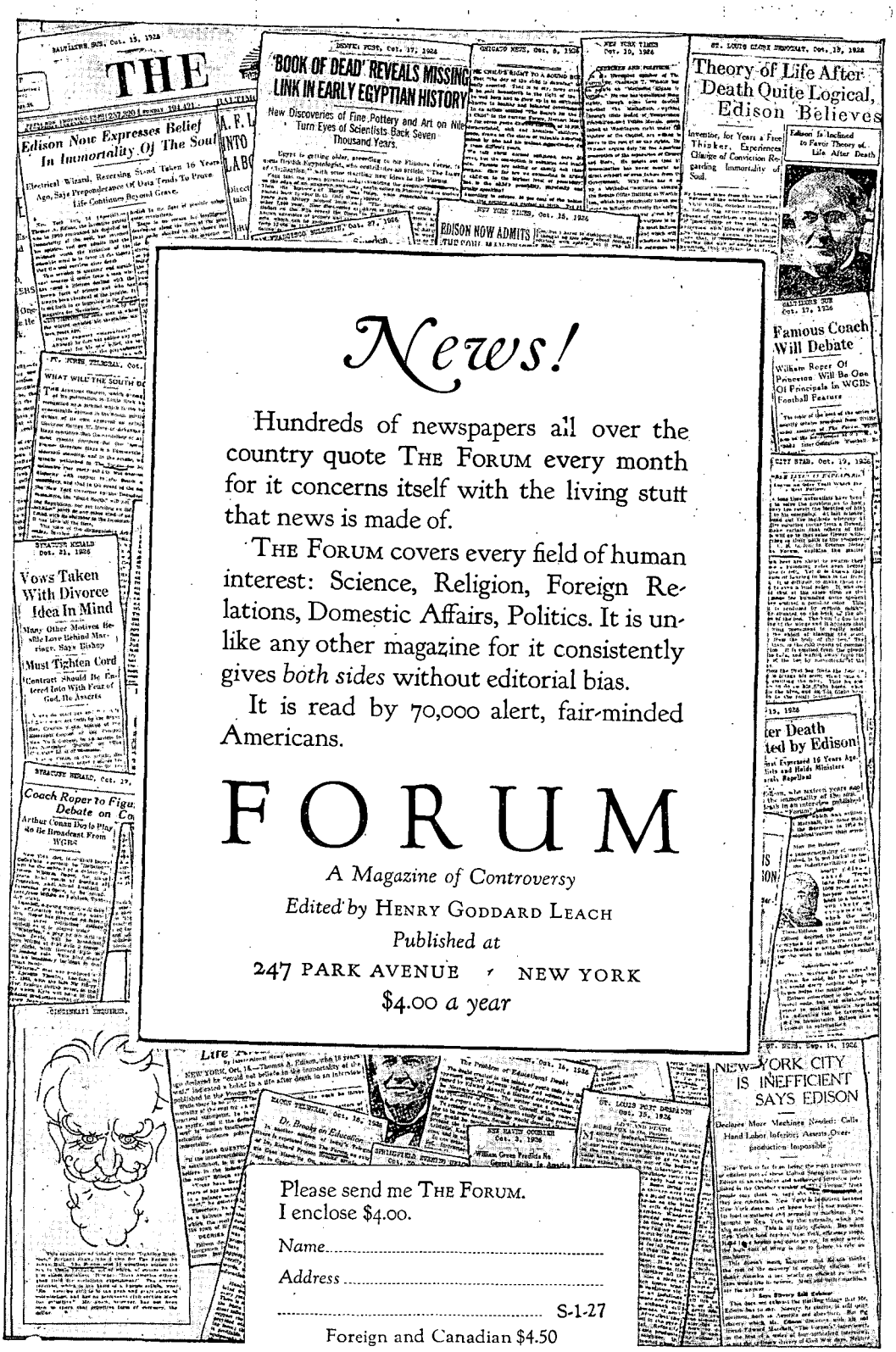
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ARE WE MAKING RED SLAVES?

(*Continued from page* 477)

The exquisite fulfillment of Indian slavery is witnessed in the non-reservation school and outing system of the bureau, never so regnant as at this propaganda hour. Here benevolence reaches soul and body alike. Back in the home, amid the socially rich Indian community, benevolence reaches the body indeed, but intangible barriers of home life and group life are somewhat effectual to guard the Indian soul. The non-reservation school strikes to the soul. It is beloved of the Bureau; it will be the last Bureau advantage to be surrendered, except one, namely, the plenary status of the bureau itself and its immunity from court review.

Recently Congressman James A. Frear addressed the Commonwealth Club of California. His talk was broadcasted. That afternoon a woman telephoned to the Indian Defense Association. "These things simply cannot be true in America," she said.

They were true. And all in this article is true—all, except where so indicated, is drawn from official sources. *Can it continue true?*

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An advertisement of
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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS discovered America, thus adding a new world to the old. Alexander Graham Bell discovered the telephone, giving the nations of the earth a new means of communication. Each ventured into the unknown and blazed the way for those who came after him.

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Because it leads the way in finding new pathways for telephone development, the Bell System is able to provide America with a nation-wide service that sets the standard for the world.

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Tuck him in~ Safe

WHAT a joy it is to tuck him in his warm, fleecy blankets—happy in the thought that everything that can be done to keep him safe from harm has been done.

FORTUNATE are the mothers of today. They can tuck their babies in bed and rest secure in the knowledge that many of childhood's greatest enemies need never touch them. For one thing, their babies probably will never have smallpox. These wise mothers have seen to it that their little ones are protected by vaccination.

How different it was before vaccination was discovered. Then mothers were powerless against this terrible disease. Among children who died, under 10 years of age, smallpox was responsible for one out of three deaths. Smallpox was more prevalent than measles. Few escaped and the children suffered most. Over and over again it swept the world, leaving its thousands of dead, thousands cruelly disfigured, thousands blind and deaf.

Then came the history-changing discovery—vaccination—and the number of deaths from smallpox went down and down. The end would have been reached but for the well-meaning, but misinformed persons who clamored that "vaccination is a crime"—that "sunshine and cleanliness, not vaccination, drive out smallpox".

If such reckless statements are believed and parents do not have their children vaccinated, smallpox may again attack the children as it did a little more than a century ago. In certain parts of the country, smallpox among children is again on the increase!

In the past, when arm to arm inoculation was common and persons were inoculated direct from smallpox patients, there were many deaths following attempts at prevention. Today, vaccination is safe. The only mishaps that can occur are due to carelessness in protecting the vaccinated area. The vaccine now used is produced under the control and supervision of the United States Government.

Smallpox comes from unsuspected sources. Because it takes 12 days to develop, it is possible for immigrants or returning travellers to bring smallpox into the country with them.

Smallpox can be stamped out only by systematic vaccination. Every child should be vaccinated before he is one year old and again during school years. Immunity wears off in time—anywhere from five to fifteen years—*and leaves one again susceptible.* Is it more than seven years since you were vaccinated?

Now—before the danger is upon you—make sure that you and yours are properly protected. Be safe.

Before the Philippine Islands were occupied by the American Army in 1898, thousands of persons died from smallpox every year. Vaccination carried on under the direction of Army officials drove smallpox down to only 273 deaths in one year.

Then came a period when vaccination of children was neglected. As a result, the worst epidemic of modern times broke out in 1918-19 with 60,855 deaths—75 per cent of which were of children under 9 years of age.

Our 48 states can be classified in three groups—those in which vaccination is compulsory, those in which it is optional and those which have no laws for vaccination.

Statistics show the lowest average number of cases per 100,000 of population in the "compulsory" states, the next highest average in the "optional" states and the highest in the "no-law" states.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will gladly mail, without cost, booklets which give the facts — "Smallpox" and "The Story of Edward Jenner", the man who discovered vaccination. Send for them.

HALEY FISKE, *President.*

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